School of Theology at Claremont
1001 1335409

Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

HQ
1420
A55

Women in the Modern World

The Annals

VOLUME CXLIII MAY, 1929

EDITOR: CLYDE L. KING
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: JOSEPH H. WILLITS
BOOK EDITOR: EDWARD B. LOGAN,
EDITORIAL COUNCIL: C. H. CRENNAN, DAVID FRIDAY, A. A. GIESECKE, A. R. HATTON, AMOS S. HERSHEY, E. M. HOPKINS, S. S. HUEBNER, J. P. LICHTENBERGER, ROSWELL C. McCREA, ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON, L. S. ROWE, HENRY SUZZALLO, T. W. VAN METRE, F. D. WATSON

Editor in Charge of this Volume
VIVA B. BOOTHE, PH.D.,
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF BUSINESS RESEARCH AND SOCIOLOGY
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
FORMERLY, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, ELMIRA COLLEGE

Advisory Committee
DR. MARION E. PARK, JUDGE FLORENCE ALLEN, MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, MRS. JOHN D. SHERMAN, MISS BELLE SHERWIN, MRS. CORNELIA BRYCE PINCHOT, DR. ALICE HAMILTON

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
3622–24 LOCUST STREET
PHILADELPHIA
1929

Copyright, 1929, by
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

EUROPEAN AGENTS

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S. W.
FRANCE: L. Larose, Rue Soufflot, 22, Paris
GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.
ITALY: Giornale Degli Economisti, Milano, via Canova, 27
SPAIN: E. Dossat, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana, Madrid.

CONTENTS

PAGE

FOREWORD vi

PART I. THE GENESIS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY OF AMERICAN WOMEN—THEORETICAL AND ACTUAL 1
Willystine Goodsell, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

THE MEANING OF PROGRESS IN THE WOMAN MOVEMENT 14
Ethel Puffer Howes, Ph.D., Director, Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests, Smith College

PART II. WOMAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MODERN HOME

THE WOMAN ADMINISTRATOR IN THE MODERN HOME 21
Anna E. Richardson, American Home Economics Association, Washington, D. C.

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION IN THE HOME 33
Hildegarde Kneeland, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture

THE HOME WOMAN AS BUYER AND CONTROLLER OF CONSUMPTION 41
Benjamin R. Andrews, Ph.D., Professor of Household Economics, Teachers College, Columbia University

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE HOME 49
Amey E. Watson, Ph.D., Director, National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home

PART III. WOMEN'S WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME—IN INDUSTRY

EFFICIENCY OF WOMEN WORKERS 61
Lillian M. Gilbreth, Ph.D., President, Gilbreth, Inc., Consulting Engineers, Montclair, N.J.

OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY 65
Alice Rogers Hager, Associate Editor, Woman's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

WHAT THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT 74
Agnes L. Peterson, Assistant Director, Woman's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

OHIO'S WOMEN WORKERS 94
Amy G. Maher, Director, Information Bureau on Women's Work, Toledo, Ohio

THE TREND IN WOMEN'S WAGES 104
Nelle Swartz, Director, Bureau of Women in Industry, New York State Department of Labor

LABOR TURNOVER OF WORKING WOMEN 109
Marguerite B. Benson, Director, Woman's Bureau, National Association of Manufacturers, New York City

TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN 120
Theresa Wolfson, Ph.D., Author, *The Woman Worker* and *The Trade Union;* Department of Economics, Hunter College

PART IV. WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WOMEN 132
Emilie J. Hutchinson, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University

332531

SOME FACTORS AFFECTING EARNINGS OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN 137
Margaret Elliott, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Personnel Management, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, and Grace E. Manson, Ph.D., Research Associate, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan

WOMEN AS COLLEGE TEACHERS 146
Marion O. Hawthorne, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, School of Education, Northwestern University

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS 154
Charl Williams, Field Secretary, The National Education Association

WOMEN IN ODD AND UNUSUAL FIELDS OF WORK 166
Miriam Simons Leuck, Lecturer and Author, *Fields of Work for Women*

WOMEN IN THE CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS 180
Grace D. Coyle, Lecturer in Economics, Barnard College, Columbia Univeristy

WOMEN IN FARM LIFE AND RURAL ECONOMY 188
Mary Meek Atkinson, Ph.D., Author, *The Woman on the Farm, The Shining House*, etc.

PART V. SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOMEN AS CREATIVE CITIZENS

AMERICAN WOMEN AND THE PRINTING PRESS 195
Mary R. Beard

SOME EFFECTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE 207
Marguerite M. Wells, Director, Fifth District National League of Women Voters

WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES 217
Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman, The Democratic National Committee, 1921–28; President, The Woman's National Democratic Club

WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 230
Florence Brewer Boeckel, Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War

WOMAN'S ERA IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT 249
Helen D. Pigeon, Executive Secretary, International Association of Policewomen

PART VI. SOCIAL ATTITUDES AFFECTING WOMEN'S WORK

LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN TO WORK 255
Mary Phlegar Smith, Research Assistant, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina

AT THE CROSSROADS IN THE LEGAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY 265
Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University

THE EFFECTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION ON WOMEN'S WORK 280
Mary N. Winslow, Director of Special Studies, The Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND ITS EFFECT ON EARNINGS AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR 286
Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, and Marguerite Marsh, Research Secretary, National Consumers' League

PART VII. THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

THE MARRIED WOMAN AND THE PART-TIME JOB 301
Lorine Pruette, Ph.D., Author, *Women and Leisure, A Study of Social Waste*

MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY 315
Gwendolyn Hughes Berry, Ph.D., Director, Bureau of Statistics and Registration, The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York City

MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS 325
Chase Going Woodhouse, Director, Institute of Women's Professional Relations, North Carolina College for Women

THE PERSONALITY RESULTS OF THE WAGE EMPLOYMENT ON WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES 339
Ernest R. Groves, Author, *The Marriage Crisis*, etc.

SOME PROBABLE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE OUT-WORKING OF WELL-ENDOWED MARRIED WOMEN 349
David Snedden, Ph.D., Professor of Educational Sociology, Teachers College, Columbia University

HOME-MAKING EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES 361
Louise Stanley, Ph.D., Chief, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture

EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD AND THE CHOICE OF SATISFACTIONS 368
Elsa Denison Voorhees

BOOK DEPARTMENT 374

INDEX 387

FOREWORD

To an increasing degree we are seeing today what seems to be a new woman—with new interests, new responsibilities, and new ways of doing things. What has changed and is still changing, of course, is not woman herself but her status in a rapidly developing social order, and her ways and means of securing satisfactions and making contributions to social life under the changed conditions in which she has to function. When the clash of opinion about the question of woman's sphere and of her activities viewed in the light of the traditional ideas about her sphere, subsides enough to permit a glimpse at the principles about whom the controversy rages, we are confronted with the rather simple phenomena of a group of human beings struggling with the age old problem of finding satisfactions for normal and universal desires and wishes under a particular set of physical and social arrangements. There is nothing new, then, in the fundamentals of the problem confronting women to-day, which are the same as they have been in time past and will continue to be in the future, namely, adjustment to the world in which they live to the end that life may yield a maximum of satisfaction and development.

Much of the confusion in thought over the "vexed question" of woman's sphere arises, on the one hand, because of the general tendency to view the whole range of woman's activities in the light of her child-bearing function; and, on the other, because of the fairly universal proneness to forget that ideas and institutions are products of experience and must inevitably change as experiences change if the same objective is to be achieved, or if satisfactory adjustments once obtained are to be continued.

To those who are accustomed to think of society in its dynamic rather than its static aspects, there is nothing surprising or unusual about the so-called woman movement; rather it appears as the normal and more or less to be expected result of the inevitable conflict that occurs when ideas and institutions originating and becoming formalized under one act of surrounding conditions are carried over into a changed setting and expected to serve as adequate standards and guides to conduct after the conditions under which they were formulated have long since ceased to exist. When it is once understood that habits of thought and institutions have a way of tending to persist long after their day of usefulness has passed, even though in time they may come to be the means of thwarting the very interests that they formerly served, what is happening in the woman movement will be recognized as a necessary revaluation of old standards and procedures as means of achieving certain ends, and not at all as a change in the ends themselves.

Women are essentially the same today as they have always been (and with the developments of modern psychological knowledge may turn out to be much less different from men than was formerly supposed), and their problems are different only in the details of their manifestation. To seek satisfaction and self expression in activity which is enjoyed in the presence of and association with one's fellow human beings is no less a desirable pursuit for women than for men, and indeed has ever been the impelling force which has accounted for most

that has happened in the past to both men and women. The fact that in the course of time attitudes of mind and standard ways of procedure with reference to the normal and proper activities of each sex in securing these satisfactions have developed, is only to state that the human mind has a tendency to act that way, and in no way justifies any particular set of attitudes, nor gives them a claim to permanency.

The prevailing ideas and attitudes held by both men and women about the position and sphere of women in society are largely the product of the particular economic and social arrangements that prevailed prior to the industrial revolution, when society, economically and socially, was organized primarily around the home as the producing unit, and before standards of value had become so definitely identified with a money standard as in our present price and profit economy. Under these conditions the contributions of men and women alike to the social whole were measured in terms of satisfactions given and not indirectly in terms of the price they would command in the market as is the case today. Under such conditions the achievements of women were recognized along with those of men as productive and the contribution of the wife in the eyes of society was no less valuable than that of the man. She was at the same time wife, mother, and manager of the social destinies of the household. Thus economic, social, and leisure time activities were coördinated into a social whole that was intimately connected with the daily process of living.

The situation today has entirely changed. If the same satisfactions that were achieved under the earlier conditions are to be maintained it can be done only through a change in the status and activities of women. As is elsewhere described in this volume, modern industrial processes have robbed the home of every vestige of its former economic function and in so doing has left there for the women only those services to perform which although beautifully described as valueless, are not generally recognized as valuable. In a vain endeavor to maintain the *status quo* and to inject importance into a position that has been shorn of an important function we fall back on eloquence and hear much of the "priceless position" that woman holds in the modern world.

To say that woman holds a "priceless position" when we live in a price economy, where standards of value are money standards, is to place her among the necessary though non-valuable assets of Society. To attempt to give her rating on some basis other than our accepted measure of value is to place her outside the present economic and social scheme of organization in a position somewhat analagous to that of air and water, the notoriously necessary though valueless commodities which economists mention and appraise and then brush aside because they are "priceless."

The objectively minded are aware of the fact that gradual changes have been taking place in the life of womankind for many decades. It is certain that in this age of social unrest and heightened social consciousness, when almost every custom and institution of society has been subjected to closer observation by the critically minded, women and their position have been pushed into the foreground of the discussion. For this reason, a study of the present transitional period and some attempt to understand the new trends of thought and action that are developing is timely. It is fully recognized by the special editor and by the contributors to this volume that the

fluid and constantly changing state of existing conditions makes it impossible to draw clearly formulated conclusions. The most that can be done is to point out some of the outstanding problems, to present such facts as can be fairly well authenticated, to indicate tendencies and trends, to define objectives, and to mention some possible outcomes in the light of past experience.

VIVA BOOTHE.

Columbus, Ohio.

The Educational Opportunities of American Women—Theoretical and Actual

By Willystine Goodsell Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

DURING the first decade of the twentieth century it became increasingly evident that the long struggle of two generations to secure equality of educational opportunity for the women of America was all but won. The gloomy prophecies of opponents of the cause, that the exacting requirements of higher education would undermine the health of young women, make all too evident their innate intellectual inferiority, destroy their feminine charm, and dispose them to neglect home and offspring in a feverish pursuit of the mysteries of integral calculus or atomic energy, had proved to be without foundation. Young women had abundantly demonstrated that they could successfully pursue courses in the liberal arts without suffering from a physical or mental breakdown and that they could enrich their minds without impoverishing their hearts.

No doubt the cause of the higher education of women has received powerful support from changing economic conditions, as well as from the intellectual achievements of the women students themselves. The steady influx of women into paid employments, which gained powerful headway after the opening of the century, played havoc with the ancient tradition that if a woman failed to marry she must become a dependent in the home of some reluctant relative bound to support her. This forlorn spinster type, so vividly described by Charlotte Brontë in *Shirley*, had been succeeded by the single woman, trained to earn her living and look the world in the face with self-respect. Not only was popular opinion swinging round to the theory that economic independence is as honorable a condition for women as for men, but the necessary relation between education and economic advancement was clearly perceived in the case of women as it had long been understood in the case of men. A changing world was forcing even the most recalcitrant to accept views concerning the abilities and sphere of women that would have been stigmatized as ridiculous and subversive a generation before.

Women and Girls in Secondary Education

In the field of secondary education girls have had equal educational opportunities with their brothers for many years. It is noteworthy that the enrollment of girls has tended to exceed that of boys since the eighties of the last century. In *Bulletin 39*, issued by the United States Bureau of Education in 1927, the number of girls enrolled in public secondary schools in 1925–26 is given as 1,971,083, while the number of boys is 1,786,383. The girls outnumbered the boys by 174,700. No doubt this disparity is due to the earlier entrance of boys into paid occupations and will tend to disappear as larger numbers of girls become self-supporting.

Women Students in Colleges and Universities

Turning from the secondary education of girls to collegiate and university education we pass into a more con-

tentious domain, where equal opportunities are not yet conceded to women. Although public opinion has been pretty well won over to the view that women are as deserving of higher education as men, it is not yet ready to concede that, in the interests of efficiency, equal educational advantages and economy, to mention no other reasons, coeducation in colleges and universities is the best means of securing to women opportunity for advanced education. In the seaboard states of the East and to a limited extent in the South the prejudice against the admission of women to old, established universities, in whose academic shades men have so long walked alone, still lives on. Hence the establishment of the separate women's colleges, which have gathered unto themselves in the course of fifty years or less, no little prestige and influence.

During the last quarter-century there has been an almost spectacular increase in the enrollment of women in both the public and private colleges and universities of the country. In public institutions of learning the enrollment has leaped from 9,084 in 1902–03 to 90,363 in 1925–26—a gain of nearly 1000 per cent.[1] Very great also has been the increase in the enrollment of women in the collegiate departments of privately controlled institutions. Here the gain has been 498 per cent in the same period. Three years ago the ratio of women to men in the collegiate departments of public universities and colleges was three to five; in private institutions the corresponding ratio was almost four to five. Obviously, if the army of women seeking collegiate education continues to grow at the same rate as in the past twenty years, there will be as many women as men receiving bachelor's degrees a decade hence. Indeed in 1926, if the Bureau's figures do not err, 22,863 first degrees in arts and sciences were conferred upon women and 23,775 upon men, which means that 96 per cent as many women as men received the A.B. degree in that year. However, if all first degrees are included—and there are many varieties—the ratio of women recipients to men was less than three to four.

In the graduate schools of our universities the increase in enrollment of women students is no less remarkable. From a total of 1,838 women pursuing graduate courses in 1902–03, the number had swelled in 1926 to 12,341—a gain of 671 per cent. By that year, also, the ratio of women to men in graduate (non-professional) departments was approximately three to five, although the ratio of degrees conferred was respectively somewhat less than one to two.

LIMITATIONS ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

Perhaps even more significant of the spread of liberal ideas regarding the higher education of women is the lowering of the bars of most of the state universities in the South against the admission of women to equal opportunities in all departments. In 1902–03 the universities of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia and Louisiana reported to the Bureau of Education no women students enrolled, while only three were pursuing courses in the University of North Carolina. In that same year the solid South, outside of Texas, had just seven women enrolled for graduate study in state universities and colleges. Striking progress has been made in this conservative section in the last twenty years. There was, in 1925–26, not a state university in the South in which no women were enrolled save the Uni-

[1] Figures taken from the reports and bulletins issued by the Bureau of Education.

versity of Florida. However, the battle for equal educational opportunities in this region has not yet been won. The University of Virginia, founded largely through the efforts of that prince of democrats, Thomas Jefferson, still refuses to admit women except under definite restrictions. In proof whereof note the statements on "Admission of Women" in the university catalogue for 1927–28 (p. 214). Here the public is informed that

> Women are admitted as candidates for the vocational degrees of Bachelor of Science in a Special Subject, Bachelor of Science in Architecture, and Bachelor of Science in Commerce.

In addition to the requirements exacted of young men, the state of Virginia demands of its daughters, who seek higher education in its publicly supported university, that they be

> at least twenty years old, and able to show by proper certificate, the completion in a standard college—of at least thirty session hours (sixty semester hours), of courses of college grade, in not less than eighteen calendar months.

In other words the university requires that all women who matriculate in the vocational departments, which alone are open to them, shall have completed the first two years of collegiate work in the College of William and Mary, in some one of the privately controlled colleges admitting women, or in a more generous public institution of learning outside the state. No wonder the University of Virginia was able, in 1925–26, to preserve its charming college halls and grounds free from the undesired presence of women, save for a doughty band of seventeen aggressive females! In that year one woman was granted a degree in arts and sciences, while twelve received degrees in education, one in law and three in medicine. Clearly, the University of Virginia has taken its stand firmly on the ground that funds appropriated by the state legislature for public, higher education, may properly be expended in maintaining a university almost wholly for men.

The University of North Carolina, which has for some time been winning laurels because of its progressive policies and able faculty, has also seen fit to restrict the admission of women. The university catalogue of 1927–28 declares:

> In the College of Liberal Arts, the School of Education, and the School of Commerce, the University does not admit women students with less than junior standing.

Women, however, may be admitted to special courses, such as the pre-medical and pre-dental, and those leading to "specialized scientific degrees," "when the work is not to be obtained in a college for women." This age-old traditional policy of discriminating against women has had a noteworthy result. While the combined collegiate enrollment of women at the Universities of Virginia and North Carolina was only 118 (in 1925–26) the neighboring universities of South Carolina and West Virginia were educating respectively, 411 and 855 of the women of the state.

With respect to the eastern universities of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton not much change in attitude toward the education of women can be recorded at the end of a quarter-century. In 1925–26 no first degrees and no degrees for graduate courses except in education (thirty-four) were granted to women from the oldest of American universities, still sacrosanct to the uses of man. Yale, however, made a better showing, since it conferred on women fourteen first degrees—two in fine arts, six in music, two in nursing, two in law and two in medicine. Moreover,

twenty women received advanced degrees from the graduate school at Yale.

In contradistinction to the restrictive policies of these New England universities it is encouraging to note the liberal attitude toward the education of women taken by two of our older metropolitan universities—Columbia and Pennsylvania. While the former maintains a college of liberal arts for women (Barnard) separate from that for men, almost the last barriers against the graduate and professional training of women have fallen. In 1925–26, 1,136 graduate degrees were conferred upon women at Columbia, as compared with 881 upon men—a ratio of more than five to four in favor of women. The University of Pennsylvania has gone further than Columbia in one respect, since it admits women not only to its graduate courses but to its undergraduate school of arts and sciences, in which 1,028 women were enrolled in the year under consideration

PRIVATELY CONTROLLED COLLEGES FOR WOMEN

Nothing has hitherto been said concerning the privately controlled colleges for women which are so numerous east of the Mississippi River and in the South; yet a considerable proportion of the women of the United States receive their collegiate instruction in these institutions. In sixteen of the older and more eminent of these colleges there were more than 14,000 women enrolled in 1925–26. Obviously this country, like many European nations, still believes in a segregated, somewhat "cloistered" education for young women.

With respect to the important matter of gifts and bequests for the support of higher education in America there exists at present a marked disparity in the case of institutions for men and those for women. The last Bulletin of the Bureau of Education will make this abundantly clear. Let us take five of the outstanding universities educating chiefly men and five of the best known colleges for women and compare the amounts received in gifts in the year 1925–26.

Institutions for Women	*Private Benefactions*
Mount Holyoke	$274,643
Wellesley	752,335
Vassar	484,249
Goucher	686,419
Bryn Mawr	179,000

Institutions Chiefly for Men	*Private Benefactions*
Harvard	$9,146,325
Yale	4,742,896
Columbia	4,007,014
Johns Hopkins	4,053,617
University of Pennsylvania	601,683

With the exception of the University of Pennsylvania, which seems to have fallen upon a lean year, each of the men's universities received millions in gifts, while the largest total of benefactions made to any of the women's colleges was $752,335 to Wellesley. Three out of five of the women's colleges were given less than $500,000 and one (Bryn Mawr) received only $179,000.

It will no doubt be objected that it is unfair to compare the benefactions made to large universities, offering a wealth of graduate and professional training, and affording generous opportunities for research, with the gifts made to women's colleges, whose work is chiefly collegiate. No doubt this objection is well grounded; yet the matter is not disposed of by this admission. A comparison of the income per student from productive funds, in three New England colleges for men, and in three for women, will make plain that the former had a far higher per capita return from invested capital

than the latter. If the productive funds of Bowdoin, Amherst and Williams colleges for men, as reported to the Bureau of Education in 1925–26, were invested at 5 per cent the income per student in these colleges would be $685 at Amherst, $336 at Williams and nearly $426 at Bowdoin. On the other hand, the per capita student income of the women's colleges, assuming, as in the case of the men's institutions, that their invested funds yielded a 5 per cent income, was as follows: Wellesley $168, Mount Holyoke $109, and Smith $107.

When we ask why these inequalities exist—inequalities which, in the case of the historic universities for men, are not wholly explained by the larger social service they render—the reasons are not far to seek. The men's universities of the East are old institutions, surrounded by an aura of prestige in the public mind, and blessed with influential and wealthy bodies of alumni. On the other hand the women's colleges are relatively young institutions with comparatively small groups of alumnae, in whose membership are few outstanding women of wealth and influence who can assume the rôle of loyal and generous benefactors to their Alma Mater. When the wealthy patrons of higher education in America are moved to make munificent gifts to universities and colleges they are apt to select those in which they or their sons have wooed the Muses; or, if they become interested in other institutions of learning, these are almost invariably universities whose age and scholarly traditions unite to make them eminent. Unquestionably, the higher education of women has failed as yet to make more than a feeble appeal to those captains of finance and industry who so royally endow universities for men. Until the attitude of aloof indifference to the education of women, which appears to exist among these educational benefactors, breaks down, it is safe to prophesy that colleges for women will continue to struggle against crippling financial odds.

This situation recently called forth a vigorous protest from seven presidents and deans of well-known colleges for women in the East. After pointing out the services rendered to society by the alumnae of women's colleges—married and unmarried—as teachers, deans and advisers, physicians, research workers, journalists and leaders of humanitarian social causes, the writers declare that, if the good work of these colleges in giving women "as solid, as intelligent and as farseeing" an education as their brothers, is to go on, these institutions must be financially established so that they will neither "slip backward" nor be "unable to advance." This, of course, is the crux of the matter, and the writers go on to ask the challenging question:

> Are we in America prepared to admit the right of women to the same quality of educational opportunity as men? If we are, it follows that the institutions for women should receive financial support in proportion to the tasks laid upon them. Such support has not so far been given.[2]

OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Up to this point we have been considering the academic education of women. What of professional training? There can be no question that in this educational field, the ancient theory that woman's domain is almost exclusively the domestic circle, has operated as a powerful influence to keep women out of the historic professions of law, medicine, and theology, to say nothing of dentistry, pharmacy, archi-

[2] *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1927, pp. 577–584.

tecture and journalism. Only in the profession of teaching have women been welcome for three generations, and then, chiefly, to the more unremunerative posts not involving administrative authority and prestige. This question will be more fully considered a little later.

Notwithstanding the strength of the prejudice against the admission of women to schools of law, medicine and theology, and to the practice of those ancient professions, social and economic change had done much to undermine the opposition at the opening of the twentieth century. In 1902, however, only 153 women were enrolled in schools of law throughout the United States. This is not surprising, since in that year only twenty states admitted women to the practice of law. It was less than nine years ago that Virginia, the last state of the Union to capitulate, threw down the barrier against women and gave them admission to the bar on July 1, 1920. Two years earlier women had been admitted to membership in the American Bar Association. With these conditions in mind, the fact that 2,184 women were enrolled in schools of law in 1925–26 is not without encouragement to the advocates of professional education for women. At present all the great law schools of the country, publicly and privately controlled, are open to women save only Harvard. Yet, it was less than a year ago, that Columbia University let down the historic bars against the unrestricted admission of qualified women.

THE EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONS

Apparently the legal profession does not prove strongly attractive to women, since the last Census shows only 1,738 women practicing law in continental United States. It is safe to infer, however, that the causes of this restricted number do not lie wholly in women's indifference to the legal profession. Equal opportunities and incentives for the practice of law by women have yet to be attained. Most men—and indeed most women—will turn for advice to a male lawyer, not because he has necessarily had a better training but because his contacts with practical life have presumably been broader and more realistic.

Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to receive a degree in medicine in America and probably in the world. The degree was conferred in 1849 at Geneva University, a small institution in the state of New York. Since that historic year—a landmark in the medical training of women—a small army of women has entered the profession of medicine. At the present time every important medical school in the country has opened its doors to women with the sole exception of Harvard University. Yet it cannot be said that women are making liberal use of their opportunities for medical training. Indeed, the enrollment of women in medical schools seems to be actually decreasing. In 1902–03 there were 1,280 women pursuing courses in medicine. Eleven years later the number had fallen to 832. In 1917–18, probably owing to war conditions, the enrollment had dropped still further to 643. During the last five years the number of women studying medicine has fluctuated. In 1923–24 it was 1,184 and two years later (our most recent figure) it had again fallen to 992. It is rather surprising, in view of the widespread belief that the medical profession makes a powerful appeal to women, to discover that in 1925–26 there were only 45.4 per cent as many women pursuing medical courses as were studying law, and that more than twice as many women received legal

degrees as medical. Yet the last Census gives the number of women physicians and surgeons in practice as 7,219.

No doubt the reasons why so few women are entering the medical profession are various. The preparation is long and arduous and unless a woman has excellent health and ample vigor she may find that the demands made upon her strength by even a moderately successful practice are beyond her capacity to meet. Moreover, she must have some means of support to fall back upon during those barren years when she is slowly building up a practice in a social *milieu* that has by no means abandoned its prejudice against women physicians.

But these are probably minor reasons why women are not flocking into medical work. One of the chief explanations lies in the fact of the very general discrimination against women in the appointments to interneships in hospitals and in the opportunities for clinical experience. So flagrant was this discrimination at the close of the nineteenth century that Dr. Mary Jacobi drew up a bill, which was introduced into the New York Legislature in 1897, providing that the State Board of Charities should consist of two women and three men, instead of three men as then constituted. By this action Dr. Jacobi believed that she had taken

> The surest way in which to obtain the appointment of women physicians in all public institutions and the admission of women students to the hospitals.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since that day, but the discrimination against women in appointments on hospital staffs still continues, although signs are not lacking that the practice is breaking down.

It is a fact not without interest that three years ago more women students were enrolled in theology than in medicine. The number of women theological students in 1925–26 was 1,454, and the number of first degrees conferred in that year was thirty-three. This extraordinary disparity between the enrollment of women students, and the degrees conferred, suggests that many women take courses in theological schools with no idea of obtaining a B.D. degree, or entering the profession of the ministry. Nevertheless the Census of 1920 records 1,787 women clergymen.

As for the professions of dentistry and pharmacy, they have proved as yet not very alluring to women, if we may judge by the fact that three years ago only 151 women were pursuing courses in dentistry, and 810 in pharmacy. Journalism, although a relatively new profession, has proved more attractive, with 1,068 women enrolled in its courses in 1925–26.

NURSING AS A PROFESSION FOR WOMEN

During the last sixty years, nursing has climbed from a lowly position, as an occupation recruited largely from the ranks of the ignorant and unskilled, to its present honorable status as a profession[3] which attracts a slowly increasing body of women with college training. This tremendous advance is chiefly owing to the fact that nursing has been blessed with a few remarkable leaders—women, like Miss M. Adelaide Nutting, of vision, initiative and personal force—who have poured out their lives in a magnificent effort to lift nursing into its proper place as an important profession for women. As a result of their far-seeing, constructive labors, nursing is establishing useful connec-

[3] The word "profession" is used to designate an occupation with a skilled technique and an organized body of well established theory.

tions with universities and colleges the country over. At the present time approximately sixty American colleges and universities, exclusive of junior colleges, are recorded as taking some part in the education of nurses. In most instances the relationships established are of large practical benefit. Some of these institutions have organized schools of nursing on the basis of other professional schools, with full university status. Examples are found in the schools at Yale University and Western Reserve. Other universities have created graduate schools of nursing, of which the well known school at Teachers College, Columbia University, opened thirty years ago, is the pioneer.

In 1926–27, the number of nursing schools in the United States was 2,155 with a student body of 77,768. The Census of 1920 records 149,128 graduate nurses—a veritable army of skilled and educated women ministering to the sick. Fifty-four per cent of all registered nurses are engaged in private practice, 23 per cent in administration, teaching and supervision in schools of nursing, and 19 per cent in the new and important field of public health nursing.[4] With the exception of teaching, there is no profession that has enrolled a tithe of the women engaged in nursing. Space prevents any consideration of the urgent educational problems that confront the able women administrators in this field. But the most crucial question may at least be stated. Should not schools of nursing be established independent of the hospitals, which have for so many years exploited pupil nurses as cheap helpers, in order that the students may receive a broad and adequate education in the scientific theory underlying their profession?

[4] From a recent study made by the Committee on the Grading of Schools of Nursing.

WOMEN AS TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the forefront of the professions engaging large numbers of women is education, which public opinion has long regarded as an occupation peculiarly adapted to the capacities of women. From their foundation the normal schools of the country have been predominantly professional schools for women, and the enrollment of men at present is merely a fraction of that of women. Three years ago there were 63,337 women in attendance in state normal schools (including summer sessions) and 11,848 men—a ratio of more than five women to one man. The four-year teachers colleges—relatively young, degree-granting institutions—of which 101 reported to the Bureau of Education in 1925–26,[5] tell much the same tale regarding the preponderance of women students, who outnumbered the men more than four to one.

These enrollments indicate that the labor of instructing youth in these United States rests chiefly in the hands of women. Of the 644,631 public elementary school teachers in 1926 over 88 per cent were women. Even in the public high schools the women teachers represented 62 per cent of the total number. It may safely be said that no other country in the world has so large a proportion of women instructors in its public secondary schools.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION STILL LARGELY THE PROVINCE OF MEN

When we turn to the field of educational administration, comprising positions of wide authority and influence which command high salaries, how do the women stand? Here, indeed, a quite different situation is met. In

[5] U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin No. 39*, 1927, p. 18.

sharp contrast to the numerical preponderance of women in teaching is their numerical inferiority in administration. Not only are the great majority of these positions held by men but, with some exceptions to be discussed later, the administrative positions which women do hold are the less responsible ones.

No doubt a partial explanation of this situation lies in the fact that the academic and professional education of women in the past have been insufficient to fit them for responsible administrative work. But this has been almost equally true of men, who, only within the last decade or so, have been turning in considerable numbers to teachers' colleges and the educational departments of state and private universities, to secure the professional training for their important administrative duties that might wisely have been obtained years before. Experience has very generally been the teacher of our state and city superintendents, our supervisors and our principals of public schools, and this empirical training has in large measure been denied to women.

Another explanation of the small numbers of women holding administrative positions is due to the fact that, rightly or wrongly, their tenure of office is believed to be less permanent because of marriage. But the paramount reason must be sought in social tradition—the tradition that women are not by nature fitted for administrative work. Behind this tradition, of course, lurks the strong preference of men for posts involving directive authority, their unexpressed feeling that such positions are a male prerogative, and their unwillingness to permit women to encroach upon these age-old hereditary rights. This prejudice is natural enough, however deplorable it may appear to those who hold to the theory that appointments to responsible positions should be determined by merit. Probably only the slow, silent forces of time and circumstance will break down this ancient complex. Women, however, may hasten the process, not by angry protests and acidulous satire, but by *fitting themselves to the extent of their capacity* for the exercise of administrative responsibility, and by acquitting themselves in such positions as do fall to their lot not merely well enough but with outstanding success. It appears that it is obligatory upon women in the present state of affairs to do their jobs even better than men do theirs.

That the tide has already turned and is moving rather strongly in the direction of placing women in responsible administrative positions seems indicated by present facts. The Research Division of the National Education Association has recently compiled some significant statistics concerning "Women in Administrative School Positions in the United States." Drawn largely from the Educational Directory of 1928, they represent the latest effort to secure reliable information on this live topic. The statistics are given below:

	Men	Women	Total
State Superintendent of Education	40	8	48
Deputy or Assistant Superintendent	39	9	48
County Superintendents	2703	900	3603
City Superintendents of Schools	2808	45	2853
Heads of Departments of Education	501	84	585
Directors, Summer Schools	607	42	649

Surely it is a noteworthy fact that eight states of the Union—all in the West or Southwest—have seen fit by election of the people, to place a woman in the highest educational position in the public school system of the state. As has been elsewhere noted in this volume, the commonwealths which have thus demolished ancient precedent are Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. The nine deputy state superintendents who are women are likewise all to be found in western states with the exception of Texas and Arkansas. Further encouragement may be found in the fact that 900 women county superintendents have been appointed to office in states ranging from Maine and Connecticut on the Atlantic seaboard to California on the Pacific. The states having no women serving as county superintendents are Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia—all in the East and South.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the advancement of women to administrative posts is found in the appointment of forty-five women to the influential position of city superintendent of schools. Notwithstanding the fact that these pioneer women are numerically a mere drop in the bucket when compared with the 2,808 men holding these offices, it yet remains true that to have invaded this important sphere of male prerogative marks a considerable forward stride in the progress of women. To be sure, the cities which have appointed women to these posts are located in only fifteen states, but these commonwealths are sprinkled rather impartially over the East, South and West.

ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

With regard to the administrative status of women in colleges and schools, the outlook is by no means disheartening, as the following statistics will make plain.[6]

	Men	Women	Total
Presidents of Colleges and Universities	291	29	320
Presidents of Junior Colleges	131	19	150
Presidents or Heads of Teachers Colleges	86	2	88
Principals of State Normal Schools	115	1	116
Principals of City Normal Schools	14	12	26
Principals of Secondary Schools	1,956	169	2,125
Principals of Elementary Schools	1,072	1,866	2,938

A study of the figures indicates that women make the poorest administrative showing as principals of state normal schools. Only one of these strongholds has surrendered to women. Their status is similarly lowly in the field of teachers' colleges. It is a little surprising, therefore, to discover that women are numerically almost equal to men as principals of city normal schools. Probably the reason lies in the fact that these schools are relatively few in number and of minor educational influence when compared with the well equipped and well staffed normal schools established and supported by the state. It is not without significance that 169 women have secured the chief administrative posts in high schools, since these positions com-

[6] Educational Directory, 1928. Compiled by the Research Division of the N. E. A.

monly involve very fair remuneration, especially in our larger cities, and not a little responsibility and power. However, even in this domain, men outnumber women more than eleven to one. It is in the category of "principals of elementary schools" that women make a showing that is almost startling. That 1,866 women—64 per cent of the total number—should be holding the responsible post of principal of an elementary school is a fact that should hearten all women laboring in the realm of education.

Not so encouraging is the situation in the field of college and university education.[7] It is surely not cause for congratulation among those who believe in women's administrative ability that only twenty-nine women are presidents of senior colleges and not one of a university. This is true despite the fact that more than 247,000 women are pursuing collegiate courses in this country, and despite the further fact that the grade A and grade B colleges educating women number scores. Not even in the old established women's colleges are the presidents always women. Witness Smith, Vassar, Elmira, Wells, Goucher, Randolph-Macon and Rockford (Ill.), all of which are administered by men. As new four-year colleges for women are established, from time to time in the East, the tendency seems to be to place a man as administrative head. Connecticut College for Women, opened in 1915, has always rejoiced in a male president and the most recent addition to the group—the woman's college at Old Bennington, Vermont, soon to be opened—will likewise be presided over by a man.

Years ago the late President Harper of the University of Chicago, commenting on the subordinate status of women in private colleges and state universities, declared:

> The fact is that to women do not come the opportunities to show their strength that come to men. So far as I can ascertain, during the past year (1901) the appointments of women east and west, even in coeducational institutions have numbered very few, fewer perhaps, than ever before. Is this progress? Or is it rather a concession to prejudices which, instead of growing weaker, are growing stronger? I venture to ask the regents of our state universities and the trustees of our coeducational institutions to consider this question; and I think it not inappropriate to suggest for the consideration of the trustees of certain women's colleges the question, whether in this matter they have given to women the full opportunity they deserve.[8]

In this vigorous statement, President Harper referred to the current prejudice against appointing women to the higher grades of professorships. But the indictment is no less true of appointments to responsible administrative positions in colleges. As Professor Allport has so convincingly shown,[9] the current "stereotype" that women are unfitted intellectually and temperamentally for administrative offices is a rationalization of "wishful thinking" on the part of men, and will be displaced by a more just conception, only in the slow course of social experience and individual enlightenment.

STATUS OF WOMEN ON COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY FACULTIES

Space prevents more than a very brief account of the status of women on college and university faculties. In 1924 a committee appointed by the American Association of University Professors investigated this question by means of questionnaires and a study

[7] See article in this issue—"*Women as College Teachers*" by Marion O. Hawthorne, p. 146.

[8] Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1902, I, pp. 661–662.

[9] "Seeing Women as They Are," *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1929.

of catalogues. Some interesting results were secured.

In the twenty-nine colleges and universities for men (mainly in the East) only two women were found on the faculty among the nearly two thousand men. One of these women held a professorship of the third rank in the Harvard Medical School and the other a professorship of the second rank in the Yale School of Education. The colleges for women show the following figures:

	Men	*Women*
Professors of first rank	131	163
Professors of second rank	34	133
Professors of third rank	33	119
Instructors	53	323

As might be expected, the number of women in all grades of professorships in women's colleges considerably outnumber the men. In the realm of higher education this is their one happy hunting ground and they make good use of it. However, it is noteworthy that the number of women in the low-paid and hard-worked post of instructor outnumbered the men six to one.

When we examine the coeducational colleges and universities, supported in most instances by the state, the status of women on the faculties is seen to be markedly inferior. The following statistics apply to 104 of these coeducational institutions.

From the following table it appears that women hold 190 out of a total of 4,760 full professorships—exactly 4 per cent. If the departments of Home Economics and Physical Education (conceded to be fields of work appropriate to women) be omitted, the women hold less than 3 per cent of the full professorships. Of all grades of professorships, women hold only 7.9 per cent, while they hold 23.5 per cent of the instructorships—nearly one-fourth.[10]

Not only are women in our coeducational colleges and state universities pretty largely restricted to the positions of instructor and assistant professor, but it is notorious that the salaries paid women holding the same grade of positions as men and doing the same work are in many instances considerably below those of men. The answers to the committee's questionnaire dealing with salaries show that in 73 per cent of eleven women's colleges and in 53 per cent of the fifty-five coeducational colleges, reporting on this point, women receive equal pay for equal work. In the 47 per cent of coeducational institutions and 27 per cent of women's colleges in which it is frankly admitted that women's salaries are inferior, the difference ranges from 10 per cent to 50 per cent, the average being 18 per cent.

The reasons given for the disparity

[10] These statistics are taken from the "Preliminary Report of Committee W, on Status of Women in College and University Faculties," 1924.

	Full Professors		Associate Professors		Assistant Professors		Instructors	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Academic	2,147	95	623	71	903	106	1,319	544
Education	190	9	42	17	49	15	38	43
Engineering	431	0	162	3	275	4	478	14
Medicine	826	4	267	3	352	14	876	17
Law	224	0	13	0	16	0	22	1
Commerce	54	1	17	0	43	3	109	26
Agriculture	348	0	139	0	267	2	218	12
Journalism	18	0	4	0	11	3	10	4
Music	130	19	14	5	18	13	120	14
Bible or Theology	81	0	4	2	5	3	13	1
Home Economics	1	53	1	34	0	95	0	243
Physical Education	46	9	15	10	27	34	77	100
Military Science	64	0	6	0	56	0	34	0

are no doubt familiar to many readers. The first is the "operation of the law of supply and demand." That is, there are plenty of college women ready to accept the lower salary schedules and do good work, whereas men need the lure of adequate salaries to hold them in the educational field. The second reason given is the necessity for the man to support a family. To many persons—men and women alike—this appears a valid and convincing consideration. But it might be well to pause before accepting it unreservedly and inquire what proportion of women on the faculty are supporting aged or invalided relatives. Furthermore, what of the unmarried men instructors and professors who share in the high salary benefits of their fellows because they are men? Would it not be a sounder economic policy for colleges and universities to adopt the principle of equal pay for equal work and then make some further provision for those members of the faculty, men and women, who are supporting family dependents? As is well known, this experiment is being tried out in certain industries in European countries with considerable success and to an ever-increasing extent.

The third reason offered for salary inequalities is the social need of retaining men in college and university teaching. With regard to this point the committee makes a comment so fair and courageous that it should be quoted. The members declare that they "cannot admit the justice of requiring women who teach in college faculties to pay out of their salaries, in effect, so disproportionate a part of the cost of supplying the admitted social need of retaining men in college teaching. If it be a *social* need that men should teach in college faculties, then it would seem that *society* should foot the bill and distribute the burden evenly instead of, in effect, taking it out of the budget of the college faculty women." [11]

This somewhat cursory survey of the wide domain of women's education should prove cause for genuine encouragement to the ever-growing band of men and women who have faith in the possibilities of American women for service and achievement. Inequalities there may be and demonstrably are, especially in those fields where women seek to put their education and professional training to practical use in competition with men. But a *coup d'oeil* over the path of sixty years of educational development, should convince the most pessimistic that the progress made by women in the direction of equality of opportunity to learn and to achieve, is far greater and more significant than the inequities that still remain to be righted.

[11] Report, p. 28.

The Meaning of Progress in the Woman Movement

By Ethel Puffer Howes, Ph.D.
Director, Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests, Smith College

It is altogether fitting that there should be at this time a stock-taking of what is known as the woman movement. The last ten years have seen an extraordinary flux in the position, the activities, and most of all in the inner attitudes of women. A natural impulse is to conjure with the word progress; to tell over the new legal freedoms and powers, and the new occupations of women, and to expound the achievements of outstanding individuals. But if this survey is to be a serious reckoning, it must first ask in what sense the quality of progress may be ascribed to these multitudinous changes, or, pressing further, in what progress in the woman movement may rightly be held to consist.

What *is* progress? No concept in the field of social thought has been more eagerly disputed. A recent listing of variant definitions of social progress topped the hundred in number. Nevertheless, for application to a special movement within the social field, the dictionary definition (Webster's) gives a fair clue: "A moving or going forward; an advance toward better or ideal knowledge or condition or that conceived of as better." In the words of a sociologist, "We shall be unable to define concepts of progress . . . except in relation to standards of value." [1] Progress, then, in post-war phrase, is an advance toward an objective, which objective is some ideal condition.

Has the woman movement an objective in this sense? Is there an ideal condition of womankind, clearly envisaged, which is to be sought as a goal, an end? The first answer of most women to this question is likely to be an indignant affirmative. But it is one that must, I believe, be qualified.

Freedom from Legal and Political Disabilities

The great spokesmen of the woman movement have demanded freedom from disabilities. Women have rebelled against their chains, and all that they have currently asked is to be allowed to cast them off. When their condition was something less than human—without legal right in their own persons or their children, without the privilege of mental or any systematic training—they demanded the redress of these manifest injustices. It was a negative aspiration, cast in a negative form. As expressed by Mary Wollstonecraft in the opening of her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1798):

> Contending for the rights of woman, my main argument is built on this simple principle, that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue.

The *Vindication* is in fact a brilliant presentation of the fundamentals of education, illustrated by women's disabilities. Freedom from the ban on rational thinking was what was sought for women.

The negative aspect is still more marked in the next great women's manifesto, put forth by the first Woman's Rights Convention of 1848. It is

[1] Odum, H., *The Quest for Social Guidance* (1928).

primarily a declaration of woman's wrongs at the hands of men, wrongs which called for redress. The fact that the demand for the vote was only included as an after thought at this convention is a well-known bit of suffrage history; but the way in which that first convention was precipitated is also significant. The moment came through Elizabeth Cady Stanton's sudden denunciation of the wretched conditions of daily life for all women, wives and mothers, as she had seen them among poor women in her remote country dwelling. It was while on a visit to her friends Lucretia Mott and Jane Hunt that this denunciation took definite form, and she so fired her friends to action, as told in Mrs. Blatch's *Life*, that the call to convention was issued from that meeting.

That great landmark of the woman movement, Mill's *On the Subjection of Women* (1869), tells its story in the title, and the burden of the argument is summarized as follows:

> The disabilities of women are the only case, save one, in which laws and institutions take persons at their birth and ordain that they shall never in all their lives be allowed to compete for certain things. . . . Among all the lessons which men require for carrying on the struggle against the inevitable imperfections of their lot on earth, there is no lesson which they more need than not to add to the evils which nature inflicts, by their jealous and prejudiced restrictions on one another.

All negatives!

FREEDOM FROM ECONOMIC DISABILITIES

The next guidepost in the woman movement was *Women and Economics* (1898), Charlotte Perkins Gilman's epoch-making book. Women are oversexed (she says in substance), taught to rely on feline arts, restrained in their human impulse to do and to make, because their real disability is economic, not political. "The economic dependence of the human female on her mate," that "sexuo-economic relation," poisons love and marriage, family and social life, at their source. Hence, her program of economic independence is one of removing disabilities like the preceding. Much more, of course, is implied than is expressed, and Mrs. Gilman, in this and other writings, has anticipated most of the practical efforts for the management of women's lives which the new century has seen. Thus it would appear that the great interpreters of the woman's movement in the past have seen their goal as escape from a condition, rather than as the establishment of a positive concept or ideal of women's nature and work.

That this idea has continued into the present and still largely dominates the woman movement is seen in the following words of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in an article in *Current History*, for October, 1927:

> What is the woman movement and what is its aim? It is a demand for equality of opportunity between the sexes. It means that when and if a woman is as well qualified as a man to fill a position, she shall have an equal and unprejudiced chance to secure it. . . . What will bring the revolt to a close? . . . absolute equality of opportunity only will satisfy and therefore close the woman movement.

PROGRESS IN REMOVING DISABILITIES

Now it is certainly true that the successive practical steps by which women attained freedom from their disabilities in comparison with men, or, positively, the right to own property, to make contracts, to study and practice professions, to vote, have in every case been clearly set forth as objectives. From one point to another, then, there has

been progress in this limited sense, that the immediate objective was clearly defined, and was attained. Mrs. Catt's own statement, however, is indubitable testimony to the fact that the positive "ideal condition" for women, which shall be a goal, a beacon, a guide to what she may, can, or shall do, or endeavor to do, has never as yet been a definite part of the woman's program. Progress in the full sense can, then, not be attributed to the woman movement, because no real objective has been set or attained. The "woman question" has never had an answer. And the proof of this is that never in the history of the woman movement were the conflicts in ethical motives more acute, the trends in education more contradictory, or the lack of clear thinking on fundamental meanings more notorious, than now.

This confusion was voiced by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in sharper terms in a recent sermon, from a newspaper report of which I quote:

> There has been among us and there is now an insistence for freedom so widespread as to create the moral climate in which we all live. Many people, however, forget that there are two stages in the fight for freedom: first, the achievement of it; and, second, the using of it when you have achieved it.
>
> Think of the new freedom of woman. She has been emancipated in every realm of her life, legal, economic, and political. And yet has all this freedom solved a single ultimate problem for women? Only in the sense that it has presented American womanhood with an opportunity which may make womanhood or break it.

WHEREIN PAST OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN INADEQUATE

Dr. Fosdick is right. It is not too much to say that there is no more general grasp of these "ultimate problems" than in 1798, 1848, 1869, or 1920, when the vote was gained. Moreover, whereas a few years ago there was at least unanimity among thinking women as to the next step, that constituency is today facing two ways without realizing it.

There is, on the one hand, the original drive for ever wider opportunities for women: education to be carried to any point which a specific activity may require; with every *apparent* intention of serious pursuit of it—but with no least provision, either in professional machinery, in social framework, or even in current acknowledgment of need, for relating the individual occupation to the physical functions and emotional needs of women. The current rejoinder—"but we are now teaching women the basic arts of the family"—is precisely meaningless in this connection. The selective vocation is approached as if it were to be "the occupation of a celibate"—to paraphrase Herbert Spencer—until the moment comes, always by chance, when the use of training is abandoned, and the individual reverts to domestic pursuits. Education in home-making is of course good in itself; but it gives only the turn of the screw to what an English feminist calls "the intolerable choice" between married love and concrete achievement. The serious higher education or professional training of women today is literally founded on self-deception; a solemn farce in which all the actors consent to ignore the fact that the most natural, necessary, and valuable of human relations will in all probability soon ring down the final curtain. Of the inhibiting effect of this subconscious expectation of the break, both on education and achievement, I have written elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the most extraordinary and unexplained situation in the whole history of women is this ostrich-like attitude of women themselves, and wom-

en's educators above all, to the pressing need of conscious constructive control of the ever-imminent conflict between work and the love life.

This confusion in the objectives of women on the level of higher education is repeated in the field of women in industry. Not even the leaders of working-women know what to advise for them, as is clearly set forth in a publication of the Women's Bureau.[2] They are said to be:

> . . . . victims of an ever-changing public opinion. The least that the married woman who works should expect from industry is a consistent attitude toward her employment so that she may know what she is to expect. . . .

But, "the decrease in poverty incident to the employment of mothers," set over against the bad social consequences of the over-fatigue of the mother and the loss in childcare, has never been evaluated. The ultimate value for the industrial woman is still undetermined. Very recently a vivid picturing, by a social expert, of the dislocation in the personnel direction and organization of young women workers caused by their lack of real interest in anything but ultimate marriage, left the impression that this wholly natural interest was something which permanently vitiated the woman's labor situation. Rather would I say that the present *impasse* showed up the opportunity for constructive thinking on the part of the official leaders of women.

Alongside this age-old disregard of the fundamental impingement of nature on work, we have a recent tremendous efflorescence of the domestic and parental interests; a tendency to deprecate all systematic training except that for family living and to identify this with "training for life." This tendency derives, in the line of theory, from Rousseau's romantic view of woman's rôle, through Ellen Key and Havelock Ellis. Rousseau, who professed that education should be guided by the needs and rights of the personality of each individual, nevertheless applied this principle only to his *Émile*—his *Sophie* was never considered in any light save as Émile's life-companion.[3] Havelock Ellis is led by his studies in the differentia of sex to assume a complete fundamental difference in mentality and character and to expand this toward the conclusion that the whole end of woman is her biological and emotional activity. To quote from Havelock Ellis' account of Ellen Key, in which he voices his own agreement with her,

> Women, indeed, need free scope for their activities—and the earlier aspirations of feminism are thus justified—but they need it, not to wrest away any tasks that men may be better fitted to perform, but to play their own part in that field of creative life which is peculiarly their own. . . . The really fundamental difference between man and woman is that he can usually give his best as a creator, and she as a lover, that his value is according to his work and hers according to her love. . . . Women are entitled to the same human rights as men [continues Ellis], and until such rights are attained "feminism" still has a proper task to achieve. But women must use their strength in the sphere for which their own nature fits them.[4]

Ellen Key's name is most widely associated with her special doctrines of "the cult of the child," "the right to motherhood." It may be questioned, however, if they will have as great importance for the concept of woman's function as the general trend of her teachings, which seek to lead women to abandon the field of varied creative opportunity and concentrate

[2] *Married Women in Industry,* Mary A. Winslow (1924).

[3] Cp. Monroe, *History of Education.*

[4] *The Task of Social Hygiene* (1912).

on family devotion. We get the reverberation of this plea in those new expressions of educators who are beginning to say, apparently to wide approval, "Let us now educate women *as women!*" This should not be thought to mean merely the desire to give women the necessary equipment for wifehood and motherhood—no, it is intended as a redirecting of women's education, and so of women's destiny. Here at least we have come to a foreshadowing of that ultimate concept for which we looked in vain before.

President Eliot is forthright in his expression of this view:

> It is not the chief happiness or the chief end of woman, as a whole, to enter these new occupations, to pursue them through life. They enter many which they soon abandon; and that is good—particularly the abandonment. . . . The prime motive of the higher education of women should be recognized as the development in woman of the capacities and powers which will fit them to make family life more . . . productive in every sense, physically, mentally, and spiritually. To this modification of the higher education of women as we have seen it during the past generation may we not all look forward with abundant hope?

This was said by President Eliot in 1907[5] and it is now reprinted as a college publication by another president, with the comment that "it deserves a place in predictive prophecy."

WHERE WE MAY LOOK FOR PROGRESS IN THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

We have here at last the confrontation of two principles: the one, still confused, unfinished, entailing obvious conflict and contradiction; the other, definite enough, an "ultimate" in the sense required—if we can accept it. Where, then, shall we seek "progress" in the woman movement?

The people who want a quick return on their thinking are increasingly throwing in with the last view. It is so easy to rest in the dictum—since we all agree—that a woman's chief happiness is in the vocation of wife and mother. But it needs only what Ellen Key calls "incorruptible realism" to see that the irresistible march of events is against it. First of all, the alleged sex division, in the effective sense, is gone. Science no longer sustains the dictum of Havelock Ellis; biology, genetics, and psychology are now on the side of the relative dissociation of abilities from sex-characters. Secondly, we see the psychological impossibility of denying *development* to youth that is eager to learn, to act, and, for the most part, to work, or that needs to work. Thirdly, the psychological impossibility of restraining the *exercise* of a faculty which has once been developed, without danger of ill effects, even tragic ills. A hundred years ago, such a policy might have had some success, because women then did not as a class realize that their abilities were, broadly, equivalent to men's. But there is now no more chance of diverting those who thirst after knowledge and skill and the use of that skill, than of turning democracy permanently back to despotism. A real solution must be accepted in principle by at least the superior half of any class to be affected. Fourthly, the fact is inescapable that with early marriage and motherhood—an essential element in "the single vocation of motherhood" program—the termination of that active vocation will arrive just at the time when the woman herself is at the zenith of her powers. Result, either a frantic attempt to hold on to her vocation (with all the

[5] *Women's Education*—A Forecast.

"fixation" and "mother-in-law" evils which modern mental hygiene has too fully shown us); or, resolute self-withdrawal, with the torture of twenty or more remaining years of futilities, social and cultural. Superfluous women! Every provocative magazine is full of stories about them.

No, the romantic program is a glorious picture of the possibilities of the wife and mother *relation*, but is not the solution of the ultimate destiny of the woman who has a mind, talents, energy and a long life to be lived in a world of creative doings. Therefore, it is to be hoped that the present distraction and uncertainty in the field of education, which this doctrine has mediated, will on sober second thought be overcome by its better understanding.

It is enough to read attentively Key's great book, *Love and Marriage*, to see the impossibility of releasing women's individual powers through education, and then diverting them completely from their end, without disaster.

Yet that disaster is what we are now inviting, not on principle, but through pure obstinate stupidity, in opening all doors to women, without providing for the woman's love life as the ordinary social setting does for man's. Various writers set up a straw-woman, the "brain-woman." It is as futile to deny that the present social framework does not allow the natural and necessary development of woman's affectional life, along with the natural continuous development and exercise of her individual powers. The man demands of life that he have love, home, fatherhood and the special work which his particular brain combination fits. Shall the woman demand less?

Here we are at the heart of the problem. I would say to Dr. Fosdick, that the reason why the emancipation of women has brought no "ultimate," is because women as a class have been too humble, too timid, to claim as an ultimate principle of life for themselves, what every man has without asking. The true concept of woman is of a being with a mind, with *specific* talents which need to be developed *and used;* and with a soul and body, a psychophysical organism which, too, needs to be developed *and used;* and until this principle is accepted as ultimate, as shaping not only education, but social forms, we shall look in vain for progress.

Whatever subvarieties of occupation of "the whole woman" develop, for individuals, is immaterial. It may well be that nine-tenths of womankind will find fulfillment in the specific vocation of "collective motherliness," to use the phrase of Ellen Key. But this would be, on our view, merely one type of the general principle of integration. The ultimate principle of integration would demand full provision, in all educational plans, professional codes, and social arrangements for the ideally complete woman which would eliminate forever the necessity of an "intolerable choice."

Here is the place for John Dewey's definition of the problem of progress as one "of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature—and of inventing the social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of those needs."

INVENTING THE SOCIAL MACHINERY

It is far from a small matter of special devices or personal adjustments by which women may participate in both professional and family life; it is a matter of transforming the whole social setting and the inner attitudes of men and women to accept the two-fold need of women as fundamental.

The absolute first necessity is to see the problem for what it is; a fundamental one for education and ethics, not a mere question of management. The invention or achievement of successful methods by which, at various stages, adjustment may be assured, is important, indeed, but important primarily as a *vindication of possibility*, as *an illustration of meaning*, as *an aid to establishment of principle.*

A Practical Effort to Coördinate Women's Interests

"The individual can prescribe a life of reason more readily than he can follow it. But an environment can be formed in which desirable conduct becomes a reflex response."[6] It is toward the forming of the environment for successful integration (now in general effectively inhibited); to making integration both possible and natural, that the Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests at Smith College is dedicated.

That is why the satisfactory organization, in a college project, of a new type of service for homes, of a coöperative nursery group, of a cooked food supply adjusted to moderate incomes, means not so many bits of ground won in home economics, but so many props in the social framework so necessary to any ultimate solution. All our analyses of the professions for their adjustment to women's needs, all our case histories of successful integrations of professional and home interests find herein their meaning and enter as elements into the synthesis.

The Institute's problem is thus intimately related to the fundamentals of education. The form which the principle of integration in women's lives takes, for collegiate education, is the principle of continuity in intellectual work. The practical corollaries of this principle are proving immense. It entails, for instance, replanning the curriculum for educational continuity, resulting in the new plan of the Graduate Project. It rescues women from the mental dryness of the post-college years from which so many women suffer.

We have only begun to realize that the true coördination of women's interests, the demand for integration, is a sword to cut such knotty problems of social ethics as partnership in marriage, the spacing of children, the objectives of women in research and administration, commerce and art. But the one unassailable ground won, from which all can ultimately be reached, is the acknowledgment of the principle of the integration of the full circle of the powers and needs of women.

[6] Cattell, *A Statistical Study of American Men of Science.*

The Woman Administrator in the Modern Home

By Anna E. Richardson
American Home Economics Association, Washington, D. C.

THE terms management and administration used interchangeably in the home are borrowed from business and industry and have much the same meaning in this new relationship. The well-ordered home of today, like other efficient enterprises, is run according to accepted principles of good management, even though the objectives for homemaking are human satisfactions and development, rather than increased production or sales. The products of industry are material goods and it has developed highly specialized managerial responsibilities in the utilization of efficiency methods for mass productions. Homemaking has no such clear-cut division of labor and it has remained, for the majority, a composite occupation, where the homemaker is both a worker and a manager, planning the daily routine and carrying out these plans. Her duties as administrator are equally as important, however, whether they include directing herself as worker, or planning and supervising the work of someone else detailed to do it.

Although this discussion concerns itself with the woman administrator and not the woman as worker, the two types of responsibilities should be recognized and differentiated. All efficient work is the result of careful planning which must precede the doing. These frequently overlap in the day's work as the homemaker quickly shifts from one to the other. It is the administrator who decides what activities shall be carried on in the home and under what conditions and at what cost, not alone in dollars and cents, but in the other resources of the home, time, effort, personal interest, ability and training. It is for her not only to determine how the plant, the house with its furnishings and equipment shall be used, but, much more important, she has the delicate task of directing the personnel of the home.

In the home, as in progressive industrial plants, it is desirable to refer many managerial decisions to a council of the members, or if the children are too young to participate, then the "partners" must together plan policies. If this paper seems to overlook the fact that homemaking is a joint enterprise and that the administration of many of its aspects is at least a dual responsibility, this is because it deals more particularly with those administrative duties which have been delegated to the woman of the home.

The management of the modern home reflects the changes following the industrializing of many household skills and the development of organized public services. The colonial home was largely self-sustaining and the chief concern of the homemaker was the production of the necessities for family subsistence. The home of today is not self-sufficient, and its very life is dependent upon contacts with the organized agencies of the community. With the ever-growing number of goods and services made available by commerce and industry, has come emphasis on the management of the resources, which enable the home now to secure most of the necessities for family maintenance from outside sources of supply.

Our homes are slow to take over efficiency methods of doing work, or in

administering resources. There is still marked lack of adjustment to the "new economic order" and oftentimes, at unnecessary inconvenience and expenditure of effort, they continue highly individualized enterprises, carrying on the household work as complete units, with only an occasional experiment in community housekeeping. Such expressions as "household buyers" the "consumer," however, show that we are becoming conscious that homemakers *en masse* have quite important relations with other large businesses and, accordingly, the individual home consumer is of increasing consequence. Although the significance of the administration of income is recognized, many minimize the other homemaking responsibilities, and no longer regard homemaking as a major occupation demanding the full time of the woman. Therefore, before we discuss the details of home administration, it will be profitable to review the information available as to the amount of time actually spent by the average homemaker in homemaking activities.

TIME SPENT BY HOMEMAKERS IN HOMEMAKING ACTIVITIES

The following is quoted from unpublished data secured by the Bureau of Home Ecomonics, Department of Agriculture, through the coöperation of over two thousand homemakers who have kept careful daily records of how they spent their time for seven days of a typical week:

> Four-fifths of these homemakers spent over 41 hours a week in their homemaking, more than half over 48 hours, and one-third spent over 55 hours. The average for all the homemakers is slightly over 51 hours a week. If this be part-time work, what one may ask would be considered full-time? . . .
>
> These figures, however, include rural homes as well as urban, and it is the city homemaker who is supposed to be wasting away in idleness. How far do these time records bear out this popular view? Unfortunately, the number of records from town and city women is small, but as far as they go they vary amazingly little from the records from farm and village homes. The average time spent in homemaking by the women in towns of from 2,500 to 50,000 is 51 hours a week, only a few minutes lower than the rural figure, and for the large cities of 50,000 and over, the average, though lower, is still a little over our 48-hour standards. Only 10 per cent of these city women spent less than 35 hours a week in their homemaking. . . . But the homemakers who kept these time records are only a small sample. How representative are they of the twenty-six million housewives of the nation? A definite answer to this question cannot, of course, be made, but sufficient evidence is at hand to suggest that they give a pretty good picture of the time expenditure of middle-class homemakers—of the farm and village women with whom the home economics extension service is in touch, and of the club women of the towns and smaller cities. Few families from the unskilled wage-earner group are included, few from the poorer farm group, and few from the well-to-do home with several paid employees. On the whole, the sample is probably somewhat above the average of middle-class homemakers in ability and in interest in their work, which might tend either to increase the time spent, because of higher standards of housekeeping, or to lower it, because of greater efficiency. In size of family the records are quite representative, showing an average of 4.1 persons—probably a trifle below, rather than above, the middle class average.

In this same connection it is interesting to further quote from an article *The Family in Chicago: A Study of Selected Census Data*, by Kyrk and Day, published in the *Journal of Home Economics*, November, 1927.

> It was estimated that 83 per cent of the young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were living with their

parents. . . . So long as sons and daughters live with their parents, the housekeeping and homemaking responsibilities entailed by their presence must be borne by someone. Formerly, grown daughters remained at home until marriage and helped their mother. But nowadays, according to this investigation, the majority of the city daughters are gainfully employed, and presumably the homemaking burdens of the mother are lightened little, if any. . . . Among 2,193 "completed" Chicago families, it was found that the average period during which there had been one or more children under sixteen years to be cared for was twenty-three years—a rather long period for the duration of parental support and responsibility, it may seem. But one family with five children had this burden throughout forty-one years! The time during which the mother was responsible for the care of children under seven, ranged from seven years in the one-child families, to thirty-one years in families with seven and eight children, and averaged fourteen years.

These facts and figures justify us in assuming that, at least, for a very large group, homemaking is still a full-time occupation, and that the problems involved in the administration of these homes are challenging and worthy of study. Homemaking still ranks first as the occupation employing the largest number of persons, expending the longest hours in labor, and possessing the largest purchasing power. It has been estimated that the women of the United States buy $1,000 worth of goods a minute.

Not only is it worth while to know the total amount of time spent in home activities, but from the standpoint of administration it is desirable to learn how it is distributed. The Bureau's study furnishes us further facts as to the way the forty-one to forty-eight hours a week were spent by the rural women and the activities which engaged the thirty-five hours a week spent by the urban homemakers.

The time spent in the care of members of the family by the homemakers, in dressing and bathing children, in teaching, supervising and other direct care, averaged only four and a quarter hours a week, and in purchasing, planning, supervising, and other management, an average of only two and a half hours was spent. It is the housekeeping tasks—the provision of meals, the care of the house, the laundering, mending and sewing—that demand the bulk of the homemaker's time. Food alone requires almost half of the total homemaking time, an average of twenty-two hours a week. From the standpoint of use of time, the homemaker is still predominantly a housewife, rather than a household manager or buyer. The fact that she still has a full-time job is due to the fact that she still "keeps house." . . .

Some difference, however, must be noted here between the rural and urban households. Both in care of members of the family and in management, the city homemakers spent more than twice as much time as the farm homemakers—six and three-fourths hours a week in care of members as against three and one-fourth spent by the farm women, and four and one-half hours a week in management as against one and three-fourths hours. . . . A sixth of the homemakers included in the Bureau study received no help whatever, either from paid workers or from members of their family. And on the average they received from all sources only ten hours a week of help.

WHY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES PERSIST IN A MODERN HOME

Why have these activities persisted in the home when they could be done quite as well, often-times more efficiently, if industrialized or performed as community projects? There seem to be a number of reasons why much of this "housekeeping" is still carried on in the individual home.

First, authoritative statements assure us the income of the average family does not permit of buying all home service from outside agencies, in

the form of ready prepared, or ready-made goods. Second, the professional training and skill of the average homemaker does not make part-time work outside of the home profitable, at least not under the present economic system, with its limited provision of part-time jobs for unskilled workers. Third, there is a considerable number of women who enjoy housework and prefer it to other forms of occupation. They get intellectual and emotional satisfaction from it. This fact is frequently overlooked in discussions which present only the attitude of the women who honestly detest housework and who feel that they are demeaned by doing it. Fourth, tradition holds most women in the home as the legitimate place for the use of their talents. This idea is strengthened by the attitude of many men who are still strongly in favor of women making their economic and social contribution through the work of the home. Fifth, there is still a profound belief on the part of a large majority that home life is closely bound up with the doing of these tasks and that much of the hominess is lost when the production activities are taken away.

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MODERN HOME?

Good administration demands that the homemaker discriminate between the relative importance of the immediate, insistent task and the larger, oftentimes far distant, goal. She must find a way to eliminate activities which can be carried on elsewhere and those that are non-essential, yielding little return in satisfaction. Her time, effort and other family resources, can be more profitably directed towards providing those experiences which cannot adequately be duplicated outside of the home, and thus achieve for family life its fundamental objectives. What are the objectives which should guide the administrator of the modern home? Dr. Groves has happily phrased the following:

> There is only one test for a home. Does it send out its members well trained to play the game of life? If not, no matter how orderly and comfortable it may be, it is a mere shell of a home.

We are more and more subordinating all other functions of the home to attaining its fundamental *raison d'être* which is to give refreshment and strength to body and spirit through experiences which family life alone is able to furnish, to provide activities, experiences and relationships, essential for the continued growth and all-round development of both children and adults. It is not an institution whose traditional practices must be kept unchanged at any cost, instead these must be modified and directed by the activities, interests, efforts, traditions, and varying temperaments of the individuals who comprise the family. Change is desirable and inevitable in the home, as in any organic group which reacts constantly to the interplay of the forces within and without.

The type of home which today can succeed in maintaining its ideals must represent a democratic organization of its members, one in which each has a share in the determination of policies, a responsibility for carrying them out, and rights and privileges to be respected as well as duties to perform.

The administrator has the responsibility of planning the use of the family's resources so as to reach these goals for home life. What are the resources which the administrator has at her command? Making an inventory of these provides an auspicious occasion for a meeting of the family council, for they must represent contributions from each member of the family.

THE RESOURCES UPON WHICH THE HOME MAY DRAW

The combined resources of the family upon which the home may draw, are of two types, those furnished by the personnel making up the family group and those which the community makes available. The resources of the first type are the combined income, time, energy, personalities and special abilities, of its members, including good health, customs, traditions, knowledge, training and skill. The resources of the second type are conditioned by the community in which the home is located, but, in general, they include schools, churches, libraries, museums, hospitals, clinics, consultation centers, playgrounds, social, professional and philanthropic organizations, stores, municipal services, public utilities and also certain racial and community standards, customs and traditions. This is a wider interpretation of resources than is usually recognized, yet each has a contribution to make and if intelligently administered can be used for the advancement of the home. As good home management is evaluated in terms of human satisfactions, perhaps the most important resources available are not the commonly accepted ones of time and money, but are those which are contributed by the personalities, training and experience of the individual members.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FAMILY INCOME

Let us consider the administration of these resources. The spending of the family income has increased in importance with the increasing tendency to purchase, rather than to produce, the essentials for family maintenance. The grave responsibility of the homemaker, as purchaser, is more clearly seen when we consider the sum total spent by women to supply home needs.

The following is quoted from the proceedings of the Conference on Problems of the Household Buyer, held at the University of Chicago, December, 1927.

In recent years the part of the national income spent for consumer's goods (exclusive of savings and taxes) may be roughly estimated at about seventy billions. Approximately twenty-seven billions of this goes for food, 80 per cent of which is probably spent by women. Thirteen billions goes for clothing, of which about 75 per cent is spent by women, with the amounts spent for shelter, furniture, etc., the total is close to forty-seven and a half billion which is spent by women, or over two-thirds of all that is spent for consumer's goods.

The following table from Hoyt's, *Consumption of Wealth*, published in 1928, furnishes additional data regarding the percentage of the income spent for various goods and services:

Goods and Services		*Percentage*
Food		27
Clothing		13
Shelter		12
Fuel and light		4
Sundries		
Furniture and furnishings	2	
Tobacco, candy, soft drinks and gum	5	
Education and reading	1	
Health	2	
Automobile	5	
Other recreations (theatres, ball games, club dues, etc.)	3	
Miscellaneous (cosmetics, writing materials, street-car fares, contributions, etc.)	4	
Savings and insurance	12	
Taxes	10	
Total sundries		44
Total of all		100

This table does not indicate the proportion of these goods and services bought by the women in the home, but judging from known current practice,

this proportion is probably quite large. The need for far more intelligent administration of income is suggested by students of family life, who cite among the causes of friction and family disruption, only one other, sex incompatibility, as comparable in the havoc which is wrought by the homemaker's unwise expenditure of money.

There are such a variety of goods manufactured today to supply the needs of the home, that it is impossible for the homemaker to have command of all the information demanded to buy intelligently. Retail business employs thousands of expert purchasing agents to select the goods which are sold to the home, while the homemaker with her limited experience and training in buying must, in her turn, select from the wide assortment those articles which seem best to serve her needs. Modern methods of production make it impossible for the homemaker to know the quality of the materials which go into manufactured articles and she has little assurance, except an occasional guarantee by a reputable manufacturer or retailer, that the article she buys will come up to any standard specification. Her problem is further complicated by advertising, which displays goods so attractively, that she is sometimes tempted to buy unwisely, without sufficient study of needs and how they can be met best. The psychology of clever advertising is frequently pitted against the common sense of the homemaker, with the result that she is worsted in the struggle.

As the expenditure of effort is so largely determined by the time consumed, equipment used and the utilization of available outside agencies, it can be best discussed as a part of the consideration of these other resources.

ADMINISTERING THE HOUSEKEEPING JOBS

Before the homemaker as "worker" sets about to do the job requiring time and effort, as administrator she will have first decided just *what* tasks must be done at home, *how* they are to be done and by *whom*. If we refer back to the figures quoted on the distribution of the homemaker's time, we see that by far the greater portion of her effort and energy is going into these "housekeeping" jobs. Administration demands the weighing of values to determine if this is a wise use of time and effort and the consideration of ways in which these may be reduced by the purchase of more ready-prepared, ready-made goods, more outside services, employment of help in the home, elimination of unnecessary processes and the simplification of necessary ones, provision of more adequate working space and equipment for those tasks which must be done at home.

The increase in the number of restaurants and delicatessen shops, in the manufacture of ready-to-serve foods and ready-to-wear garments, as well as the flourishing beauty parlors, packed movie houses, all suggest that we are soliciting, to a considerable degree, the aid of outside agencies for our food, clothing, personal service and entertainment, as we have already done for furnishings and equipment, lights, telephone, fuel and education.

Help is employed by only 5 per cent of the homes in the United States, yet, as this represents a total of about a million homes, securing satisfactory help for the home presents a large and growing problem. As women more and more seek outside employment, either from financial necessity, or as an outlet to their special abilities, there will probably be an increased demand for skilled, part-time assistants. Some

of the conditions which have been unfavorable to the securing of well-trained part-time or full-time household help are: (1) isolation of the worker; (2) long hours of work; (3) poor living conditions; (4) social segregation of "servants"; (5) poor wages; (6) variety of skills and training demanded of the worker; (7) lack of professional standards on the part of employers and employees.

A Conference on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home held in Washington in November, 1928, declared in favor of working contracts by employers and employees, the substituting of employer-employee relationship in the household for the mistress-maid relationship, agreements as to limitation of working hours and to additional compensation for overtime, either through pay, or through additional hours off. It was the consensus that the forty-eight-hour week should, for the present, be recognized as the objective towards which time adjustments should tend. Such a conference suggests the possibility of progress, in the frank discussion of important and neglected aspects of the problem of "hired help" in the home, with resulting good services to both.

The reduction of time and energy consumed in the work of the home, through better house planning, elimination of unnecessary processes and through the provision of better equipment and facilities, has not received sufficient consideration. Fatigue in the home is just beginning to be studied. Industry has learned that over-fatigue results both in inefficiency and dissatisfaction and that at least some of the poor working conditions which cause fatigue are controllable. In applying such facts to the household, we should first attack the provisions for privacy and rest, tools, equipment, work space and methods. The modern house or apartment has minimized space, but it has not always made the available space more convenient, or better adapted to family needs. It has cut down all extra space and thus prevents the possibility of complete rest, which comes from privacy and an opportunity to be occasionally alone. It has frequently sacrificed the play space of the children and has forced all members of the family, young and old, to use the same recreation center. This is inevitably a cause of irritation and fatigue, for it prevents free individual expression and spontaneity, and forces constant consideration of the other fellow's demands.

Experts tell us that our methods of work and tools belong with the hoops of our grandmothers' day. The following figures from a study of 10,000 farm homes reported in 1920, by the United States Department of Agriculture, in Circular 148, *The Farm Woman's Problem*, indicate the availability of certain types of conveniences and equipment in the households investigated.

Description	*Percent Frequency*
Have running water	32
Do own washing	96
Use power	15
Use washing machine	57
Use carpet sweeper	47
Use sewing machine	95
Use screened windows and doors	96
Care for kerosene lamps	79

Studies have been made of work space and arrangement of equipment. Routing charts have been kept and the distance traversed in performing certain household tasks has been measured Attempts have also been made to apply time and motion studies to household tasks. Considerable needs to be done along all of these lines, particularly in organizing and eliminating processes and in the selection of adequate equipment. Some of the so-

called labor-saving devices do not bring the desired results, someone has called them "labor-distributing" rather than labor-saving, and they frequently prove so. The careful administrator will first plan the work which is to be done at home and will then select her equipment on the basis of the effectiveness with which it does the work and the time and effort saved by its use.

THE PERSONNEL RESOURCES OF THE FAMILY AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

The family resources in personnel are its choicest possession and should be used with all the wisdom that the administrator can muster. She may have learned to use the time and the energy of the various members when they can be corralled, but she has not always included on the credit side of her ledger their good health, special abilities, likes and dislikes, nor yet the possible advantage to be gained from playing up family traditions and customs. Individual traits are too frequently considered handicaps to be overcome, rather than assets to be employed when making assignments of tasks, or when coming together for family councils. The experienced homemaker knows that there is nothing which builds so securely for family morale, as does the recognition of the special contribution which even the smallest child can make. Gifts of personality or skill enable children, as well as grown-ups, to render real service in the work and recreational plans of the family.

Training for homemaking is another resource which has received too little attention, we have been wont to take for granted that the wife brings to the home partnership the necessary qualifications and that special training is not needed. This may be because we cannot back up our faith in the desirability of training by tangible proof, for we have no studies for homemaking similar to those which have been made to show the "money value of a college education." There are testimonials a plenty, to the worth of specialized home economics training, from the young wife and mother who is making a go of meeting the varied demands of a house, a husband and a new-born infant; and wasted family resources, friction, lines and wrinkles, caused by needless worry, bear evidence to the damage which can result from ignorance of some of the fundamental facts of economics, biology, nutrition, hygiene, and psychology.

What has just been said concerning the neglect of the less frequently recognized resources furnished by the individual personalities, training and experience of the members of the family is even more true of community resources. If a survey were made of the extent to which the homes of a city made use of the agencies organized to serve them, it is a safe guess that the results would show that few employ half of them and that the majority of homes take advantage of only a very few. The resources of schools and classes for adults, as well as for children, clinics, playgrounds, libraries, art galleries, churches, and a variety of organized agencies for social betterment, are not found in every community, but they are becoming more common and in most communities there are many more than most homes ever take advantage of. Having attempted to sketch briefly the objectives for which the modern home is striving, and having reviewed its resources, let us consider those everyday activities which must be carried on if the environment of the home is to provide for the family's needs. Again through the division of labor in this coöperative enterprise of the home, the wife and mother must assume

the major responsibility for their provision.

We will not consider here the marginal or broken families which are problems of the social worker, nor the wealthy family, where a paid staff replaces the homemaker as administrator and as worker, but homes whose income range permits fair standards of living and where most of the work is done by members of the family. These reveal much the same list of responsibilities for both rural and urban homemakers. Employment of full- or part-time household employees reduces the time and effort the homemaker must put into "housekeeping" and, with help, her "time sheet" should show a larger proportion of her energy devoted to the administrative tasks of directing the activities and resources of the home. Whether she works alone, or with assistance, the administrator must by insight, understanding and careful planning, provide for the satisfaction of the fundamental human needs for physical well-being, social relationships and emotional and intellectual stimulation. Many now consider that the chief function of the home is to provide a place to eat, sleep, and keep one's belongings, but do not regard it as a source of social and intellectual interests and development.

THE SUPPLYING OF FUNDAMENTAL FAMILY NEEDS

Let us start with the satisfaction of physical demands. These resolve themselves into food, clothing and shelter. What are the essential details involved in providing adequate food for a family, say of four persons made up of a man doing desk work, a woman who spends most of her time in general housework, and two growing boys of eight and twelve years of age? First, the manager must know something of nutritional standards and dietetic values before she is able to determine what is "adequate" diet for this family. Fortunately, for most homemakers, standards for adequate diets have been carefully worked out by specialists, and there is easy access to this information; second, not only must the manager know what is adequate food, but she must provide it and oftentimes see that it is eaten by certain members of the family. The provision of food requires that the homemaker either select, purchase, prepare and serve the food previously determined as adequate, or that she plan for this food to be served to her family from some other agency. Her decision as to methods employed will be based on consideration of the cost factors involved, versus ends desired. Feeding the family is more than a matter of providing adequate calories and nutritive essentials at minimum cost. Personal tastes, preferences, convenience and the social satisfactions which come from meals served at the "family table" all affect our choice.

The scope of this paper does not permit of suggesting all the information needed by the homemaker to efficiently provide adequate food for her family, but it is worth noting that many of our most serious and important agricultural and industrial problems of supply and demand are closely bound up with this task. Production, distribution and consumption, are the three indissoluble links in the continual process of maintaining an adequate food supply for the nation. A clearer understanding and control of the interdependence of the three would result in better food at cheaper rates to the home, and at less waste to producers and manufacturers. The mastery of these problems is beyond the education of the majority of homemakers, but an appreciation of their importance

and significance is one of the requirements of her job as administrator.

We need not go into the details involved in supplying adequate clothing and shelter. Each demands knowledge of specific facts, as to individual and family requirements, the type of goods available and how they can be best procured, selections being made always after weighing the desired ends against the expenditures of the family's precious resources.

The satisfaction of the daily physical needs of the family are consuming the greater part of the time, effort, training, personal gifts and abilities of the homemakers reported by the Bureau of Home Economics. Need this be so? If our educational facilities, our increased wealth, our better designed and adapted machinery and equipment are not to lighten the burden of "overtime" for the homemaker, then we should frankly ask for what is this vaunted progress of which we hear so much? Industrial and agricultural prosperity in themselves are not sufficient. Improved wages or better prices which do not result in improved home conditions bring little permanent return. Increased production, which is not accompanied by a program of education in the wise use of the goods produced, may prove a positive menace. Social and scientific research should increase opportunity for physical and mental health and bring accompanying higher standards for personal and family life. Enlarged opportunities for leisure will bring the desired relaxation and refreshment when we understand better the factors which count most for successful human relationships.

PLANNING FOR LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITES

More and more, administrators of modern homes are gaining relief from the countless activities which used to be connected with the responsibility for the family's physical welfare, and gradually they are arriving at the place where they can, by choice, determine how they will expend their effort and time. The following from *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, by Groves and Ogburn, well expresses the present situation:

> The mother has been given relief, but at the same time she has been taught the seriousness of duties hardly realized two decades ago. She has won greater freedom in deciding what aspects of life she shall emphasize and what qualities in her home or family association she shall attempt to bring about.

This freedom of choice is giving the homemaker a chance to expend more time and thought in planning family life, so as to supply the often neglected, social, emotional and intellectual experiences, which may come from a well served meal, eaten together at one's own table, a symphony concert, wisely provided from the family's income, a picnic, a movie, or an hour of happy comradeship together, or quiet alone with a favorite book.

Plans for family recreation must depend to some extent upon the opportunities afforded by the community. When there are many, family councils must help to decide which shall be selected. When outside opportunities are few, a double tax is put upon the home, for it must not only make provision for its own family's needs, but it must do its share towards the building of the community resources in this regard. No matter what the abundance of outside entertainment and diversion, they never can entirely replace the family play time together. Precious ties are strengthened and bonds welded when experiences of all sorts are shared by the family as a group. We all know how sorrow and disaster serve to

unite a family. There might be less need of special "uniting" if it had learned the joy of playing together. Opportunities are lost when a family does not celebrate its anniversaries, holiday times or the successes which come to its members. Something quite worth while in family experience is sacrificed as we give up the "social rite" of feasting and making merry together.

As the home is the environment responsible for shaping the early years of our children, it is imperative that we recognize the importance of the influence of the everyday experiences in developing their physical, social and emotional life. Those homes which give to the child his rightful opportunity, provide experiences which enable him to develop sound habits of physical behavior, such as eating, sleeping, elimination, cleanliness, good posture and muscular control; good habits of social behavior, such as an ability to make friends, express himself adequately, assume responsibility, have respect for the property of others; character traits, such as honesty, fair play, perseverence, respect for authority; religious ideals which help him to understand the concept of God, the use of prayer; and stimulate intellectual and aesthetic tastes, through pleasure in good literature, in the arts and in creative work and play.

THE PART-TIME HOMEMAKER

This paper has considered mainly the administrator of the home where the woman is employed full time. It has not, however, meant to imply that this situation is the only desirable one. Instead, one of the important decisions which the administrator in the home must make is the determination of those aspects of homemaking which can be detailed to others and those which she must retain. Where finances and other circumstances make it possible the former group of activities might well be relinquished so that more of her effort, time and ability may go into the management of family relationships, the development of her children and the satisfaction of personal interests and tastes, either within the home, or in some outside business or profession.

Social and economic conditions are increasing the number of homemakers who desire to go outside of their homes to supplement income, or to win recognition for their work and for their abilities. Is there anything in the nature of homemaking which encourages the dissatisfactions expressed by many women? Undoubtedly there is. The demands of the occupation have resulted in comparative isolation, have excluded competitive aspects and have made it a job without tangible returns in money, promotion or recognition. Soon after the Rehabilitation Act was passed, a homemaker is reported to have come into the local offices asking to be "rehabilitated." The reason given was "I have carried on this job for twenty years without recognition or remuneration, I think it time I learned to do something else." The homemakers of the country followed Mr. Hoover whole-heartedly in his food campaign during the war because he showed them a way to do "their bit" at home, and the Food Administration saw to it, and quite significantly, that "their bit" got recognition. The mother's service is praised in song and story, but her success in homemaking is seldom recognized or honored by appointment to a position of trust. The cumulative effect of all of this has been to build up in the homemaker an inferiority complex, and it is no wonder that some of the more independent ones are jumping the fence and seeking greener pastures.

When all is said, is the administra-

tion of the home a satisfactory career for an educated woman? Many say there is plentiful proof that much of the work of the home can be performed quite as well, perhaps even better by not only less well educated workers, but by workers of no high degree of native intelligence and that, therefore, homemaking has ceased to hold the women of ability. These statements are in part true, yet they show a lack of discrimination between the significant really vital homemaking responsibilities and those which can be readily delegated. They evidence a confusion of the scope of the functions of the "worker" and the manager. If we review, even in scant detail, the variety of the types of activity which the administration of the home requires, the fundamental knowledge intrinsic in their satisfactory achievement, and the importance of the product, happy, healthy, useful human beings, there is overwhelming evidence that the professional demands are high. Apparently the trouble lies not in the "job specifications," but in other important factors, such as inadequate training in those fundamental social, physical and biological sciences underlying the problems of household administration which prevents the woman from responding to the challenge, not because of the unworthiness of the profession, but because only the craft side is evident and that at the lowest levels of "doing jobs." Limited finances, which make impossible the desired standard of living, lack of expressed appreciation, and personal distaste for housework are all contributary. Personal maladjustment is widely recognized as perhaps one of the most serious sources of unhappiness. The "unadjusted" homemaker finds little satisfaction in the administration of responsibilities which include so many human factors. Then there are always the gifted ones who should be relieved of the greater part of homemaking responsibility, as neither their talents nor inclination fit them to serve in the capacity of administrator, and yet even they cannot escape some of the most important duties which come with wifehood and parenthood. Permanent satisfactions from work come to the educated woman only when she sees her efforts translated in terms of human values and unless her home management results in experiences which bring personal development, she will not be satisfied with a full-time job in the home.

The home, with family life as its nucleus, furnishes opportunities for development, through experience, which no other enterprise has been able to substitute. Women will be foolish indeed if they do not release every activity which can be carried on as well or better, outside of the home, but the woman will sell her birthright who does not hold tenaciously to her share in those functions which give the home its unique place in the building of human personality and character.

Woman's Economic Contribution in the Home

By Hildegarde Kneeland
Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture

According to the Census of Occupations, some forty-two million persons in the United States were gainfully employed in 1920. That an additional twenty-one million were employed "without gain" is a fact that we are curiously prone to ignore. In the endless stream of writing and discussion on this primary problem of making a living, only occasional and casual reference is made to the largest of all our occupational groups. The housewife, in fact, is not commonly considered as having an "occupation" at all. It is admitted, of course, that she works—at least that some of the twenty-one million do. But her labors are ordinarily relegated to a category of their own, unworthy of the attention of those concerned with economic matters.

This neglect of one-third of our working population has its root in various causes. But the major cause is undoubtedly the very fact that the housewife's services do not come on the market. In this her position is unique. No other occupational group of significant size remains today outside of the price system. Even the farmer, though still raising some food for family use, now produces mainly on a commercial basis.

And whatever changes the future may bring in the work of the housewife, it cannot change her position in this respect. As long as she continues to exist, as an occupational type, her services must remain literally priceless. For it is of their very essense that they are available to only one group of consumers—her own family. As soon as she seeks a wider or different market she ceases to be a housewife.

Disadvantages of a Priceless Position in a Money Economy

There are, of course, many advantages in this non-commercial character of housekeeping—advantages which may in the end prove strong enough to prevent a complete transfer of work from the home to the large-scale agency. But that there are also disadvantages is only too apparent. Deplore it as we may, we live under the dominance of a money economy, and the worker whose services do not carry a price tag is inevitably handicapped.

She is handicapped first by the lack of prestige attached to her work. However loudly we may sing the praises of the Homemaker and Mother, we cannot silence the underlying refrain that she is "only a housewife." This universal attitude, which the housewife herself shares with us, not only denies her the benefits of study and experimentation on her problem by other workers, but it also undermines her own interest in her work, and the efficiency and satisfaction with which she tackles it.

She meets a second difficulty in choosing the tasks on which she will spend her time. For the job of the modern housewife is by no means a unified standard whole, to be pursued either in toto or else not at all. In this day of ready-made clothing, ready-cooked food, power laundries and nursery schools, she is constantly deciding whether to use her time on a particular task or to use the family income on its commercial substitute.

And frequently she also weighs the pros and cons of paying for hired help.

In making her decisions, the question of dollars and cents is, of course, not the only consideration, but it is unquestionably an important and a recurring one. Yet she has usually only the haziest notion of the relative value of her time when spent in different household tasks, or of how these values compare with the income which she might earn in work outside of the home.

More important than either of these disadvantages under which the housewife labors is her lack of economic independence. This is, of course, an old and familiar grievance; in voicing it today it seems, to "date," to belong to an earlier and less fortunate period in woman's economic life. The entrance of women into industry and the professions has given us a false sense of having solved this problem. For millions of single women it has, of course, been solved. But for a far greater number of married women it still remains a major issue.

In fact, it is an issue of increasing importance. As our means not only of livelihood but of the enjoyments of life come more and more under the sway of the dollar, the advantage of having a definite claim to a money income is growing ever greater. And as more and more women are gainfully employed before marriage, their economic dependence as housewives becomes increasingly irksome.

It is not only the housewife, of course, who suffers under the situation. It presses heavily also upon her husband, as increasing demands are made upon his earnings and decreasing services are rendered by his helpmate with the development of our industrial civilization. This whole question of family support is fraught today with confusion, conflict and discontent. Some readjustment here is long overdue, both in "voluntary practice" and in our legal provisions.

THE CHIEF OCCUPATION OF MOST WOMEN IS STILL THAT OF HOUSEWIFE

To the historically-minded, it is futile for us to concern ourselves with these ills of the housewife; we are wasting our time on a patient who, owing to external causes, is in a fatal decline. And from the long-time point of view their prediction is likely to prove correct. The few residual tasks which still cling to the home may presently in their turn pass into the hands of the commercial or coöperative agency. The occupation of housewife may continue to fade away until, as with Alice's Cheshire cat, there is nothing left but the grin.

But even if this is to be the ultimate fate of the housewife, it is not so near at hand as to dispose of her and her problems for this generation and the next. In many households, of course, the substance of housekeeping has already almost vanished. But in spite of the popular view to the contrary, in the majority of homes it still retains considerable weight. It does not compare in bulk, of course, with the work of our great-grandmother's day, but the number of household workers has also fallen off; the men of the family, the daughters and aunts and even the hired girls have followed the former domestic crafts into the "outside world," leaving almost all of the work of the home in the hands of the housewife herself.

And although she does not labor as hard as she did in the past, judged by modern standards she usually has a full-time job during part of her married life at least. In a study recently made by the Bureau of Home Economics, of the work of over one thousand housewives, more than half of them were found to spend over forty-

eight hours a week in their homemaking, and one-third spent over fifty-six hours. Most of these records, to be sure, came from rural homes, but the figures of the town and city housewives varied amazingly little from those of the farm women. One thousand records, of course, is only a small sample of the housewives of the nation. But it is sufficient to dispose of the notion that the chief problem of these millions of workers is in finding some use for their excess leisure.

Granted, then, that the housewife is to be with us for some little time to come, can any methods be found for improving her economic status, or must she continue to labor under her present disabilities?

"WAGES FOR WIVES"

A solution of the problem which is frequently heard of late is that of "wages for wives." The proponents of this scheme recognize, of course, that a genuine market value on the services of the housewife is out of the range of possibility. But they suggest that an effective substitute can be found in an estimated wage, based on the cost of replacing the housewife by a paid worker in the home. Since her husband would have to meet this cost if the housewife withdrew her services, they propose that it be taken as the amount which she earns and therefore as the amount which her husband should pay her.

To the first part of this proposal there can be no objection. It is possible and reasonable to impute a market value to the work of the housewife in this manner. The calculation, however, is by no means a simple one. For there is no single type of worker who can serve as a full substitute for the housewife. No other worker performs the same combination of tasks, or works the same number of hours or with the same degree of skill. The "maid of all work," in spite of her title, can handle only the manual tasks, the cooking, cleaning and laundering, and even these she usually does more slowly than the housewife and with greater cost in supplies and general wear and tear. And even the paid housekeeper, though her skill is more comparable, can seldom take over the sewing or the training of children. Her work, moreover, includes a larger amount of buying and supervision and a smaller amount of housework than fall to the lot of most housewives.

It is necessary, therefore, to build up the "wage" of the housewife from a combination of part-time jobs performed by various specialists. For this, two sets of figures are needed; one, the number of hours which the housewife usually spends in each of these various tasks, and the other the wage rates customarily paid for each of these types of workers.

It is evident at once that such a calculation cannot be free from inaccuracy and arbitrary judgments. For the amount of time which the housewife spends in her work continually varies, not only from year to year as the needs and circumstances of her family change, but from week to week throughout the period which the estimate is to cover. The best that can be done is to record the time spent during a typical week in the usual routine tasks and to adjust the figures for the year to allow for significant changes in work and, in the rare instances where they occur, for vacations and absences.

A more serious difficulty is met in determining the number of hours to be recorded as spent in the care of children. For much of the time which the homemaker spends with her children cannot reasonably be considered as part of her work, since it also serves

as her recreation and social life and frequently as part of her outdoor exercise. Yet it is no easy task to decide when the time should be counted as work and when as leisure. With the actual physical care of children, the dressing and bathing and feeding, there is little uncertainty. But with training and "oversight" the figure will tend to be either too low or too high.

A somewhat similar difficulty occurs with the work of planning and other management. Here the time which appears in the record will invariably be too low, since much of this "head work" is done while the hands of the housewife are engaged in one of her manual tasks. How far the recorded figure falls short it is impossible to tell, but some increase might well be made in the management hours to allow for this double activity.

The choice of the various wage rates to be used in the calculation also calls for some arbitrary decisions. For no two persons will wholly agree on the grade of worker whose efficiency is most nearly comparable to that of the housewife, in speed of work, quality of results, and care in handling supplies and equipment. Frequently, in fact, no comparable paid worker can be found, and the hourly wages paid to the ordinary worker must be raised according to the best judgment of the calculator. Frequently also a money value must be placed on meals or other payments "in kind" which form part of the wage of the worker.

Estimated Annual Value of Homemaker's Services

If, in spite of these limitations, the estimate is undertaken, how large—or how small—will these hypothetical earnings of the housewife prove to be? The answer of course will vary with the homemaker under consideration. At the lower end of the range the amount will shrink to almost nothing. But how about the upper end? What is the maximum reward which the occupation offers? Although an exact reply is obviously out of the question, it is clear that the limit cannot be high. For no matter how long a working day the homemaker may put in, the number of hours spent in highly skilled work is necessarily limited. Her average value per hour can probably seldom exceed about one dollar, and even this figure can seldom be reached if the total number of hours is high; the high proportion of routine manual jobs will hold it down. As a rough and hazardous guess, the upper limit might be expected to be not much above $60 a week or $3,000 a year.

Some evidence in support of this guess is probably in order. Out of more than one thousand homemakers, from whom time records were received in the study previously mentioned, Mrs. E. had the unhappy distinction of spending the highest amount of time in homemaking work. Her labors reached the appalling total of 87½ hours a week. This time was spent for a family of four, her husband, her father, a daughter three years old and herself. Her house, in a small eastern village, could boast no modern improvements or labor-saving equipment, and no help was given her in her work by either of the men of the family. The chief explanation, however, of her heavy hours is found in the fact that during the week of her record she spent almost nineteen hours in canning fruit.

In calculating Mrs. E.'s hypothetical earnings, it seems reasonable to use as low a wage rate as forty-five cents an hour for the routine tasks of cleaning, dishwashing, and laundering. This is more, of course, than she would have had to pay for the usual grade of hired help, but not very much more, for her efficiency was probably not markedly

greater. For all of her other tasks higher rates might be allowed, with a maximum of perhaps one dollar an hour for purchasing, planning, and other management. Using such wage rates as these, the dominance of the less skilled tasks brings the average value of her time to only fifty-five cents an hour, or about forty-eight dollars a week. These figures apply, however, only to the week for which her record was kept, which was probably unusually busy. But even assuming that these hours of work were maintained throughout the year, the annual "earnings" of this hardest worker would amount to only $2,500.

It may be argued, however, that a housewife of more unusual ability would show a much higher money value. In reply to this the figures of Mrs. V. are pertinent. Most of the housework in her home was done by a paid worker, and almost all of the 44½ hours a week which she herself spent in homemaking were given to the more skilled tasks of management and the care of her four children. In these, as well as in all of her tasks, she is exceptionally able and unusually well trained. A maximum wage rate of about $1.50 an hour might, therefore, be allowed for the hours spent in management, which in terms of a full-time job would be equal to about $4,000 a year. The rate for care of children should probably be somewhat less, since part of this work is quite routine in nature. And for the least skilled tasks, fifty cents an hour would probably be justified. According to these wage rates, the average value of Mrs. V.'s time is $1.05 an hour, and her weekly "earnings" about $47. Assuming similar figures for all of the weeks of the year, this gives a yearly total of slightly under the $2,500 "earned" by Mrs. E.

But the hours which Mrs. V. spent in homemaking work were unusually low. If she had increased them, however, it would have been largely by adding more of the routine housework to her duties. Even if she had brought them up to sixty hours a week, her yearly value would not have exceeded $3,000. And if she had vied with Mrs. E. in working eighty hours, the time spent in the less pressing tasks of management and care of children would

	Mrs. E.			Mrs. V.		
	Hours per Week	Wage Rate per Hour	Value per Week	Hours per Week	Wage Rate per Hour	Value per Week
Preparing meals	17¾	$.55	$9.76	4¼	$.75	$3.19
Clearing away meals	9½	.45	4.28	1½	.50	.75
Preservation of food	18¾	.60	11.25	..	..	...
Cleaning	9¾	.45	4.39	1	.50	.50
Washing	6½	.45	2.93	¼	.50	.13
Ironing	2¼	.45	1.01	..	..	...
Mending	5½	.50	2.75	..	.60	...
Sewing	5¼	.65	3.41	..	.85	...
Care of family	7½	.70	5.25	18½	1.00	18.00
Management	2	1.00	2.00	14	1.50	21.00
Other	2¾	.50	1.38	4¾	.55	2.61
Total	87½	$.55	$48.41	44¼	$1.05	$46.68

undoubtedly have been curtailed, and the increase in hours of work would have been offset by the decrease in the average value of her time.

CAN AN ESTIMATE OF EARNINGS IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOMEMAKER?

In view of the limitations in both the reliability and the magnitude of these computations of the housewife's "earnings," how effective would they be in improving her economic status if they were generally made? To what extent do they offer a practical solution of her problem?

In decreasing the first of her disabilities they would probably prove quite useful. In fact, any reasonable statement, however low, of the money value of her work would raise the popular estimate of her economic importance. For, curiously enough, we tend at present to think of her time as having almost no money value. Even an estimate based on the wages paid to ordinary household workers would increase the housewife's prestige, if it were expressed as a yearly total. For individual housewives whose hours of work are low it would, of course, have a small or even a negative advantage. But for those who approximate the average of fifty-one hours a week spent by the homemakers in the Bureau study, the effect would be beneficial.

If we apply to these average time expenditures the set of wage rates used in Mrs. E.'s calculation, a value of twenty-eight dollars a week or $1,450 a year is found, with an average hourly rate of fifty-five cents. In comparison with the earnings of most of our "gainful" workers, such a figure as this is by no means to be despised.

With the housewife's second economic problem, however, such computations are of little use. For her choice of the tasks which she will include and exclude in her housekeeping must be based on the cost of substitutes which are actually available. And at the present time, at least, it is practically impossible to employ a corps of specialized workers in the home, each spending only a few hours a week in performing her special task. Moreover, the modern housewife is more interested in the cost of the large-scale "outside" agency than in the paid domestic worker.

Even for those particular tasks for which a part-time domestic worker may be employed, the figures obtained by this method of calculation are unsatisfactory. Instead of translating the cost of the hired worker into terms of the housewife's hours and skill, this cost should be figured directly from the hours which the worker herself requires for the task and the amount which she must actually be paid per hour. This necessary payment, plus any increase in costs of supplies and equipment which the use of the hired worker involves, may be considered the amount which the housewife "earns" by doing the work herself. A similar method could of course be used in connection with the "outside" substitute.

Unfortunately, such calculations are not easily made by the individual housewife, and a very large number are necessary for each task before any generalizations are possible. There is apparently no easy road to the solution of this household problem.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE FOR THE HOUSEWIFE

But it was as a solution of the third economic disability of the housewife that the calculation of her hypothetical earnings was proposed. How successful will this method prove in securing her economic independence? How

hopeful can she be of receiving a definite money wage?

When it is recalled that the source from which this wage is supposed to come is her husband's earnings, the impractical nature of the proposal is at once apparent. For in spite of the low money value of her housekeeping, the wage of her husband will usually not be twice as great. If he paid her what she "saved" him by her labor, he would give her more than half of his income. He would make her economically independent only to become dependent himself. Such voluntary martyrdom is perhaps too much to expect, even of that model of generosity, the American Husband.

That the idea of "wages for wives" has been entertained at all, is evidence of our confusion of thought on this matter of family support and our lack of knowledge regarding the factors determining wages. The proposal would seem to imply the belief that the wages paid to male workers have been adjusted, by some mysterious workings of the market, to include the cash value of the housewife's services. It might safely be said to be nearer the truth that they have been adjusted so as not to include them. For as far as the circumstances of the worker's family have influenced the market process at all, they have carried the assumption that the "living" of the family came from a double source—the cash income of the husband and the housekeeping services of the wife.

In cases where the husband's income is at least double his wife's "earnings," this first objection to the scheme would not, of course, apply. And it is interesting to note in this connection that it is chiefly from well-to-do households that the suggested plan has emanated. It may further be argued in defense of the proposal that even in households of average means, the cash income of the family might be divided between husband and wife according to the ratio of their earnings. If a value of $1,500 is placed upon the housewife's services, and her husband draws a salary of $2,000 a year, he might pay her a wage of $857 and keep for himself the remaining $1,143.

Under such a financial arrangement, it is to be assumed, each of the parties would pay half of the mutual expenses of housekeeping and care of children and handle his own personal items. Otherwise the division of income on the basis of earnings wholly loses its meaning.

The second and major objection to the scheme is thus apparent. It ignores the economic unity inherent in housekeeping, and penalizes the wife for engaging in this poorly paid occupation. In the family of average income, the surplus over the cost of food, rent and household operation and the expenses of the children is usually very small. Under the present arrangement it is divided more or less evenly between the husband and wife to cover their clothing and personal expenses. But under the proposed dispensation it would usually all be lodged in the hands of the husband, for the wife's wages would all be absorbed in meeting her half of the joint expenses. Her economic dependence would thus be more acute than ever; she would become increasingly in debt to her financial lord and master.

For the wealthy family also this second objection holds. The wage of even the most "valuable" housewife would scarcely suffice to house and feed and clothe her according to the style to which her husband is accustomed and which he would wish to maintain. Her "earnings" would inevitably become a mere fund for paying for certain items in the family budget—in short, the old, tabued "allowance" camouflaged.

In fact, it must reluctantly be admitted that the economic status of the housewife cannot be determined by her economic contribution. Some other basis must be found for the division of the family income. As long as marriage involves a joint establishment, and as long as she gives more labor to its running than her husband, the basis of relative earnings is both impractical and unjust.

By what method, then, can the housewife hope to reach her long-desired goal of economic independence? By what financial arrangement with her husband can she secure a definite claim to a money income of her own?

The answer, after all, is quite clear, and quite simple. For when all is said and done, the only satisfactory division of the family income is on a fifty-fifty basis. After the mutual expenses of housekeeping and children are cared for, the surplus should be equally shared by husband and wife. But far more important than the equality of the division is its definiteness. A mere joint use of income will not be sufficient—as witness the housewifes' present uncertain status. An actual separation of the two funds will usually be essential to full freedom in their use.

And this separation should apply not merely to current expenses. The property accumulated during the course of the marriage should also be divided, and on an equal basis, or at least jointly owned. For without this definite assurance of her future share in the profits of the partnership to which she contributes her labors, the housewife will not be far on the road to economic emancipation.

The Home Woman as Buyer and Controller of Consumption

By Benjamin R. Andrews, Ph.D.
Professor of Household Economics, Teacher's College, Columbia University

IN the production-consumption cycle that maintains social and individual life, the home woman as purchasing agent is essential to present well-being and to social progress. Higher standards of living, or prosperity and higher real wages as a personal or family experience, may be promoted primarily in three ways: By more efficient production, by more intelligent demand, and by wiser consumption. Women, while like men producers in outside industry, have in addition three unique economic functions, first, as producers within the home in housekeeping and in family management, second, as controllers of retail demand in the spending of family and personal income, and third, as directors of the family's consumption.[1] We are here concerned with the second of these services, the control of economic demand through private spending, and to some extent with the third function, the direction of family consumption, since out of directed consumption arise the considerations that largely determine the decisions of the family buyer in the retail market.

The world in which the typical family lives is the world built for it by the woman who spends. She builds this world by her purchases of commodities and services in the retail market. Life depends in good part upon a material basis and where its material resources, whatever they may be, are administered with intelligence and vision, life is really good. How one can build a better life for one's self and family by more intelligent buying, and thereby carry society forward, that is the principle involved.

Retail Buying a Productive Act

Retail buying is a productive act, for it can multiply many fold the satisfactions from a given income. Retail selling is necessary in the production process; retail buying which precedes the act of consumption is as essential as retail selling and has evidently the same productive power for wealth creation. Family buying is, therefore, an essential step in our present economic organization, whether viewed from the standpoint of industry, or of the home. The family buyer's responsibility is a widening function, for as old-time production of material commodities for sale or use leaves the home, new activities arise there related to spending that have productive advantage, such as health conservation, child guidance, economic administration, family leadership, income spending, and consumption direction—all these are really productive since they increase the utilities enjoyed, which are the real purpose of the productive process. Under the present price system, money income and money spending are both equally important and the one who controls spending seems to be largely responsible for the quality of life secured by the family income. The controller of personal spending makes the world of the family, sets its

[1] See E. T. Devine, *Economic Function of Woman*, American Academy of Political and Social Science. Pub. No. 183.

standards of living and largely determines the quantity and quality of daily satisfactions enjoyed. Even if she does not do all the earlier work of turning raw materials into the consumer's finished goods, yet her services as chooser, combiner, controller, widen with the widening of the money economy, and she maintains her essential service as the one who takes the resources secured by the outside workers of the family and translates them into final satisfactions needed for her family's living, which, if bought in hotel or restaurant, command in the market a price two or three times the amount of the bare money income of her family. The modern housewife is coming to be less of a routine worker and more of an administrator and enterpriser in the business of living, and the skillful enterpriser's contribution to production and to well-being is a multiplying creative one, as compared with that of the routine worker, whether in industry or in the home.

The Retail Purchaser as Controller of Production

There is also a broad social sense in which home buying is world building. The summation of all retail purchases is the economic demand that maintains farm, factory, office, and store. The economic world is determined by the domestic world in the sense that the retail buyer's continued approval of goods offered by the producer determines the fate of the producer. The economic influences of course work the other way as well—industry by its increased productivity raises standards of living and helps to bring health and beauty to the home. There is constant interaction between home and market and in this relationship the spender speaks for the home.

How to buy, then, is one of the newer subjects which education must teach as it is to society's advantage that the housewife buy intelligently. Conscious choosing of what will be had and what will be gone without, and the selection of the particular object to be purchased, is what socialized buying demands. The new note is that the act of purchase must be studied—the thing purchased, and the conditions surrounding its purchase—to the end that one get one's money's worth. Women as retail buyers are asking for practical advice at this functioning point of expenditure. Nor is it enough to be able to buy for the day's needs; the spending must take into account saving or the buying of protection for the future, for emergencies, for old age, as well as for present needs. The family must work out an economic plan of life in which its resources are utilized to buy the best possible combination of satisfactions for today, and the best sequence of satisfactions for the future.

The Need for Enlightened Buying

The psychology of the selling process has been studied extensively by those interested in salesmanship and advertising, but scarcely at all by those interested in retail purchasing. In the selling act as outlined for the guidance of the salesman, naturally the purchaser is not encouraged to indulge in critical thinking regarding the object purchased, to weigh its values, to measure its cost against other possible purchases. The successful salesman must of course answer questions that the buyer may ask, but the last thing in the world which he should do in guarding his own interests, is to stimulate critical thought on the part of the buyer. But such critical thought and evaluation of the costs of the article, as well as detailed appraisal of its value, is just what the consumer-buyer must

give in advance, if he would be well served.

Good "buymanship" requires an answer to one or more questions before a purchase is made. Do I need something of this kind? Is this the particular type that I want—functionally; in quality? How much use will I give it? How long will it last? How much work will it require to operate it? What else would my money buy now, that is, what other purchases do I give up if I buy this? Am I buying because I myself need it, or am I being led to buy by social compulsion? Does its purchase encroach upon my savings? Are the claims for it unproven, exaggerated, and the mere prestige of advertising? Is there not a cheaper way to buy? Will this object give continued satisfaction? What are the possible sources of dissatisfaction?

It is not that one will use all these test questions in every case, or in any case; it is simply that the purchaser usually has need to think critically at some point in any purchase and the more he thinks before he buys the more satisfaction he will likely have from his purchase. The business world deals too much in opiates for the consumer. The retail buyer needs to keep awake and not allow himself to be exploited by prestige, chic, pressure to buy, or pooh bah generally.

THE NEED FOR QUALITY SPECIFICATIONS OF GOODS FOR SALE

Let business be frank. It is interested in profits, not primarily in meeting needs. Let the consumer be frank, he is not interested in profits, but only in meeting his needs as cheaply as possible. His profits come from the largest possible satisfactions for his money. How then shall the twain ever meet? Precisely as they do in wholesale trade, by giving the buyer exactly what he wants, and under conditions that mean reasonable profit to the dealer. Standardization of products, according to specification, is the measure that, in the retail market, will prove of greatest benefit to the buyer, as has been the case in the wholesale market. The consumer is indebted to Messers. Chase and Schlink for their analysis of the possibilities in the direction of standardized products for consumers, and for calling the attention of the private buyer to the progress which purchase for the Federal Government has made through standardized goods bought according to specifications established by the Bureau of Standards. The government specifications for goods to be purchased represent careful technical investigation and give certainty as to what is bought, with large economies in costs.[2] May not the consumer hope that there will sometime be available at his corner store and other places of daily purchase many consumers goods thus based upon standardized specification? The fact that large private buyers are already using government specifications gives the home buyer hope of similar standards in her markets.

It is noteworthy that business itself seems to be moving in the direction of graded goods openly acknowledged. For some of this we have to thank the Better Business Bureaus now operating in forty odd cities. Thus the Boston Better Business Bureau inaugurated a set of standards for honest description of furniture, which has been accepted by the trade and approved by the United States Trade Commission. So again the Better Business Bureaus by working for honest advertising of furs, have secured the agreement of the fur trade representatives to a program in part, as follows: Predictions of future

[2] Chase, Stuart, and Schlink, C. J., *Getting Your Money's Worth*, Macmillan, 1927.

prices should not be used in advertising; statements of savings made should be moderate; the name of the pelt should be shown in legible type and in close proximity to the trade name; garments of pieced skins should be so described; customers should be informed of relative wearing qualities of different furs; any guarantees issued should be specific; and the glossary of fur terms adapted by the trade should be used. A scale of relative durability of furs has been available for some years, which for example gives Beaver a rating of 90 points as compared with Muskrat 45 points, and Grey Squirrel, 20 to 25 points. Such a rating is the type of rather exact information that will doubtless be available in time with regard to all commodities for the guidance of the household buyer, as the movement for intelligent purchasing makes headway.

What, for example, is a "cedar chest?" We have all seen them advertised. The New York Better Business Bureau recently found in thirteen stores many overstatements with regard to this commodity. It was said, for example, that this chest "will be absolutely moth proof," yet, in its report on such merchandise as a protection against moths, a Department of Agriculture Farmer's Bulletin states that the body of a cedar chest must contain 70 per cent of three-fourths-inch cedar; that a veneer lined chest cannot be depended upon (yet many veneer chests are sold); that red cedar contains 2 or 3 per cent of natural oil, the aroma of which is protective against moth larvae, and that this is effective only against newly hatched larvae, so that clothing must be carefully brushed to remove the older stages of the moth before the clothing is stored. The Better Business investigator found one salesman urging, as a selling point, that 60 per cent of the oil had been removed from the wood of the chest which he was offering, although if this were true it would have destroyed whatever efficiency the cedar may originally have had.

Such an illustration makes clear that salespeople as well as customer-buyers need to know the facts regarding the goods which are offered, their types, grades, qualities and relative costs. Such information it would seem might in time be organized in a retail buyers' handbook of information, as professional in purpose as an engineers handbook. One section of such a handbook might deal with rugs, another with furniture, another with clothing for children, and the like; it could give useful information which at present is known only to the expert, and thus collected could be made commonly available. At present, the best sources of information to the retail buyer, regarding the commodities he is considering, is the descriptive catalog of the large mail order houses, which many are finding useful in providing descriptions and prices of a multitude of goods in a standard substantial quality. The woman who buys thoughtfully often uses the time-saving service of these mail order houses, and will also consult their reliable, factual descriptions, before she goes to buy locally.

Our system of branding goods, which at present consists almost exclusively of trade-mark and private brand names, is of significance of course in identifying the product of a certain advertiser, but is inadequate as to quality identification. It should be supplemented by a system of brands having reference to objective quality and the meeting of specifications. It is conceivable that in standardized goods such as rubber overshoes, bed sheets, garden hose, and what not, we shall have broad levels of distinctive quality allowing for each grade a considerable

margin for variation, so that one might call for a particular commodity as "consumers grade I, II, or III," with the goods labeled accordingly. There are under way studies of specifications of consumers goods, in some cases considered jointly by producers, engineering organizations and consumers, that look in this direction toward the possible establishment of objective grades of goods.

CONSUMER COÖPERATION FOR MORE INTELLIGENT SPENDING

Cannot organized consumers exercise some control over recommendations of goods that will aid intelligent judgment regarding the objects of their expenditure? There is already considerable to report in this field. "White lists" of recommended goods are certainly legal, although "black lists" of condemned goods are not. And such recommended lists made by consumers seem to have considerable potentiality. One interesting example in a special field which has a history of nearly forty years of successful service is the Women's Rest Tour Association of Boston, which issues each year a recommended list of addresses of pensions, inexpensive hotels, and of other living accommodations, which have been reported by American women out of their own individual experience, as providing desirable service for women traveling alone. About five thousand American women avail themselves of this effective method of group recommendation, and anyone who has benefited from it, will testify as to its efficiency. The association publishes a foreign list and an American list of addresses in alternate years. Negative, as well as positive recommendations, are effective since private reports of sub-standard service result in a name being removed from the list. So the list is responsive to the quality of service rendered. A valuable additional service is the *Pilgrim's Script*, an occasional publication of advice given by association members as to itineraries, costs and related information.

Another example of consumer recommendation in limited fields is the work of the local Parent-Teacher Associations, or similar organizations, in recommending local movies, theatres, books, etc., to its members. One case is the Parents' Association of the Horace Mann School, in New York City, which issues a fortnightly bulletin, listing recommendations for children of various ages. The lists of movies, for example, are made by a committee of parents who visit all new movies and pass rather expert judgment upon them in terms of certain standards which they have found to be effective, rating them to meet the needs of elementary school children, junior and senior high students. The committee has also made studies of the movies in the experience of the school child, so that they are operating, in part at least, upon a fact basis.[3]

The most significant example of consumer recommendation is the Consumers' Club, New York City, which issues a privately circulated list making available recommendations of merchandise on "A" and "B" levels of quality, the judgment being based upon government and other tests, with addresses of firms supplying certain goods, and, in some cases methods of privately providing compounded materials. The club has competent technical and economic leadership, and membership may be recommended to all interested in better retail buying conditions for private consumers.[4] These examples

[3] Abbott, Mary Allen, *Motion Pictures for Different School Grades*, Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1928.

[4] Consumers' Club, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City.

go to show that there are ways of organizing protective consumer recommendation which might be instituted in any community. The coöperatives abroad have shown another way of improving retailing and guaranteeing qualities of goods. Even if their definite program is not adopted, their experience is invaluable. The Consumers' League, in its national and local branches, aims to make consumers' opinions effective for the improvement of industrial conditions. Incidental to this, it exerts an influence for better consumption goods as in its former white-label campaign for better conditions in white-goods trades, and the present New York City effort to create better working conditions in the candy factories. Its splendid program has worked steadily for social betterment rather than the narrower purpose of improving qualities of consumer goods here under consideration.

In extreme cases of fraud in retail merchandising, the government may interfere to protect the consumer, as when the post office authorities exclude from the mails a concern, such as the one selling by a chain method, whereby a person can get a rebate by selling to other persons coupons, by which they can buy upon the same terms as the first person. Weights and measures are a traditional concern of the government and pure food legislation, and the grading of foodstuffs, and the like, are but modern developments of the same idea. There has been time and again demand for obligatory textile, and other descriptive labels, to indicate wool content, leather shoes, etc. This seems but an extension of the law requiring a label of net weight or contents upon food packages so that many have supported the plea for such labels. Business has opposed obligatory labeling, claiming that such labels would be difficult to administer. As a moderate step ahead there has been rather general support for the adoption, in the United States, of the English *merchandise marks act*, the principle of which is —"no label is required; but if goods are labeled, the label must be honest and not misleading." This principle of square dealing as regards labeling has been in court again and again in decisions of the Federal Trade Commission, which has required honest labels in individual cases where business itself has complained of unfair competition by dishonest labels.

The consumer by joint action, the business man through upholding equitable standards in trading, and the government itself, can do much to insure conditions of fair dealing when the home buyer goes into the market to buy.

ORGANIZED TRAINING FOR SUCCESSFUL SPENDING

What can the schools do in the way of teaching how to buy? The courses in home economics in grade schools, high schools and colleges are beginning to give attention to this subject. In most home economics courses which train managers of institutions, restaurants, cafeterias and the like, training in quantity buying has already been somewhat professionalized. While the bulk of family buying is smaller in amount, the issues involved, particularly that the buyer get full worth for his money, since economy, and indirectly, health and well-being depend upon it, are certainly as vital. One interesting recent development, that has relation to this problem, is the giving of personal regimen and personal economics courses in high schools, for students in commercial and other vocational classes, who are being taught how to handle their money, select their clothing, choose their lunches, maintain attractive personal appearance, safeguard health, build up savings, and in general, get

standards for the personal business of living, much of which depends largely upon the wise use of money, or intelligent buying power. There are buying courses with regard to food, clothing and other commodities in some high schools and colleges, and in these courses, and in the home economics extension teaching that reaches home women, skill is developed in identifying materials, in judging qualities, and in selecting in the market.

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED IN FAMILY BUYING

In any broad study of family buying such topics as the following would be included: How does our family's income compare with the income of members of typical groups in our community, such as unskilled labor, skilled labor, business executives of different grades, storekeepers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, farmers, etc.? Are our standards appropriate to our income? Is our income fairly uniform through the year, if not, how can it be in effect stabilized to give steady buying power? If our income is inadequate, can it be increased? What value is added to money income by the housewife's homemaking contribution? How should our income affect our spending plans? Is income fairly certain now; for the future?

What "protection" should we buy by life insurance, by home ownership, by reserve funds? What income could we command in a period of extended sickness, in permanent disability; after old-age retirement?

Is our spending well balanced as regards the different groups of items—do we overspend for food, or for housing? In each field of expenditure, is the selection well balanced, for example, with food does it represent the different elements needed and in the right proportion?

The commodities and services purchased—how are they to be identified, judged and graded? What are the sources of facts regarding the commodities—what labels, descriptive circulars, what objective tests? If a mechanical device is under consideration, what are its advantages and disadvantages; what are the costs of operating, in power, materials, etc., and how much use will it have per week, per year? What equipment might facilitate effective buying—such as scales, rules, measures, microscope, test tubes, reagents? What records will facilitate buying—such as sizes, addresses of firms furnishing specialities, etc.?

What are the possible markets in which to buy; what choice of stores, what methods of ordering; what types of payment—cost and advantage of each? How can individuals or groups work for the improvement of markets—by individual action; by consumers organization; by business men's groups?

ETHICAL DUTIES OF THE HOME BUYER

What ethical duties has the private buyer? Some standards the buyer is recognizing as a code, and these, with other techniques, the new household buyer will be taught. She will not seek her personal advantage, when it means a loss to the dealer. This is the standard that she would demand of him, not to seek his advantage at her loss, and it is only fair that she practice it herself. She will not hold goods unnecessarily on approval and cause losses that have to be made up by higher prices. She will not take unnecessary time in examining goods in stores. She is willing to pay for all the services that she demands. She returns goods promptly, and in perfect condition. She does not abuse her credit privileges, or seek unusual advantages as a credit customer. She remembers that

courtesy is equally binding upon customer and salesperson.

As these and other ideas become the basis of instruction in household buying, benefits should come through the elimination of waste in retail stores and markets, as well as through the increased efficiency of the household buyer herself.

The home buyer must realize that, to her family, she is the guardian of the treasury, and that her watch over expenditures makes, or mars, the quality of life which they achieve. She must seek the best that her income makes possible, and she is finding that controlled and planned spending pays.

Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home

By Amey E. Watson, Ph.D.
Director, National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home

IN order that men, women and children may live joyously and efficiently in the world today, it is of the utmost importance that all the factors that enter into satisfactory home life should be understood and reorganized in such a way that the welfare of individual homes and the good of society may be harmonized. "Woman's place is in the home," as well as in the world at large, and as she seeks to solve the many problems that confront her, she must face and understand her relationships with her paid workers in the home, usually designated as the servant-problem, but now dignified by the new title, employer-employee relationships in the home.

Progress in this direction is shown by the fact that a group of well-informed and influential men and women met in a two-day conference at the United States Bureau of Home Economics last October, to discuss the relations between domestic employees and their employers, which it was agreed should be on the same basis as in other lines of industry. The work of this two-day conference was thus summed up by its publicity committee:

> The many and varied problems of the woman who needs to employ helpers outside her own family, and of the worker who sells her service for wages to the home, occupied the center of interest in the course of the conference. Although only approximately five per cent of American homes are actually employing such helpers today, the fact that more than a million workers are involved, and that the difficulties of the housewife in getting helpers in competition with inducements offered by industrial and business organizations are so great, make the matter one of national importance. The experts declared that the education of the home maker to an appreciation of the contribution made to family life when service is of a high character, and of the household employee to the responsibilities of her position, would tend to bring about a new sense of coöperation between them.
>
> The conference recommended the use of the term household employee in place of the term servant or maid, and voted to request the Bureau of the Census to substitute the term household employee for domestic worker.
>
> The conference also declared in favor of the organization of employers and employees, and of the formulation of working contracts by groups of employers and employees which shall include minimum standards, also of individual contracts between employers and employees which would not undercut these standards. It was further agreed that the employer-employee relationship, in the household, should supplant the mistress-maid relationship and that this relationship should include agreements as to limitation of working hours, with additional compensation for overtime, either through pay or through additional hours off. It was also the consensus of opinion that at present the forty-eight hour week should be recognized as the ultimate objective toward which time adjustments should tend.

The most important step taken by the conference was the decision to establish a permanent committee, con-

sisting of representatives of the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture; of the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor; of the Federal Board for Vocational Education; of placement, research, educational, and other agencies that work in this field, and of actual employers and employees. The purpose of this permanent committee was thus described:

> To learn what is being done now and has been done in this field, and to evaluate the experience thus gathered, considering such problems as standards of employment, education, placement, follow-up work, legislation and organization; to formulate a program of research and experimentation; to seek the cooperation of agencies working in this field in carrying out this program; and to consider the desirability and possibility of securing funds for conducting this work and for carrying on additional study and experimentation.

BACKGROUND OF SOUND THINKING AS TO THE EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP IN THE HOME

Clear thinking in this field which has baffled many for years makes it necessary first to analyze the three-fold functions of the home. The bringing into the world of the members of the next generation is one of the objects of the home, but this racial or biologic function is only one of several. Equally important is the working out of the social relationships of those who make up the family group, adult or young. This function of social living, of harmonizing the needs of each member of the family group into integrated living is subtle and far more complicated than has been realized, until recently. Certain aspects of the parent-child relationship, of the husband-wife relationship and of the brother-sister, or sister-sister or brother-brother relationship, must be met and worked out by the family group itself and can be delegated to no other person. It is in the adjustment of these relationships that the individual finds his security and well-being, and becomes ready gradually to take over the direction and guidance of his own life, going on to relationships outside of the family group. There is, however, a third function of the family, namely, the economic, that is, the satisfaction of those daily needs which do not necessarily depend on personal relations, but which can be met by anyone skilled and trained sufficiently to understand and meet the demands of the situation. The actual cooking of a meal, the washing of dishes, the mending of clothes may be done by the mother of the family, or they may be done equally well by someone else who has the necessary skills and understanding, and, at times, if the mother is overfatigued or ill, they had much better be done by someone else. In other words, the social functions of the home consist in the guiding and adjusting of those relations which the members of the family group themselves must work out together, but there are also certain needs of the members of every family which may be met by a paid worker. The satisfaction of such needs make up the economic functions of the home, whether they are met by the mother herself, by some other member of the household, or by a paid employee. Much more intensive study and experimentation is needed to throw light on which functions must be met by the father and mother, and which may be met by the carefully selected and adequately supervised paid employee. There is no clear line of demarcation between the social living of the home and the industrial aspects of home making. It is clear, however, that the

biologic, social and economic functions of the home are like three separate strands of a rope, constantly interwoven and intertwined and yet separate threads, which if studied alone, and more adequately understood, may then be woven into a more integrated and satisfying whole, the making of a joyous, satisfying and efficient American home.

It is, of course, nothing new that the home has these three-fold purposes, for, historically, the family has developed to meet these biologic, social and economic needs of individual human beings. It is true, however, as is pointed out in other articles in this volume, that, in studying the family of today, we must recognize that the world as a whole is undergoing tremendous economic, educational and social changes, and that the family must readjust itself in carrying on its activities if it is to fulfill all three of these functions adequately.

We have learned from Ogburn[1] that, where one part of culture changes through some discovery or invention, and occasions changes in some part of culture dependent upon it, there frequently is a delay in the changes called for in the dependent parts of culture. It is desirable to reduce the period of maladjustment, and to make the cultural adjustment as quickly as possible. The family affords an illustration of such "cultural lag." While under earlier agricultural conditions the family had worked out a fairly satisfactory adjustment, the modern family shows many lags in its adjustment to the modern machine age. Under agricultural conditions the family was a most significant unit in society. Woman's economic function was most important, and marriage was the taking of a business partner. The wife's duties were quite comparable in economic return with the husband's work.

As has been pointed out in other articles in this volume, one immediate effect of the growth of large-scale production in industry was taking from the home to the factory a number of the economic functions formerly performed in the home, particularly those that had been performed by women. Such profound changes mean many new adjustments for the family.

From the very simplest primitive society, the family has been constantly changing and has adapted itself to social conditions.[2] In the early stages of society family life was entirely subordinated to the welfare of the group. Actually today we say, that the family must not only contribute to the welfare of the group, but that it must give happiness and satisfaction to each of its members. In the evolution from one type of family to the other, we have inevitably a period of discontent, disorder, experimentation, restlessness and failure. But only through such changes does progress come. Our new thinking pushes the testing of marriage to a higher level, and if it brings a larger amount of discontent (or apparently does), that is simply because it is striving to do a finer thing than it has ever done in the past. Marriage must change to meet human need and human desire.

What are the directions in which human need and human desire are tending? What is the objective which we have in mind for our American homes today? Can we not accept wholeheartedly the ideal which Dr. Andrews paints for us:[3]

[1] Ogburn, William Fielding, *Social Change*, p. 200, B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1922.

[2] Groves, Ernest R., *Parents and Children*, Chapter II, p. 25, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1928.

[3] Andrews, Benjamin R., *Economics of the Household*, p. 2, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927.

The American household as its social ideal takes form is an institution in which two adults form a partnership with equal responsibilities, make equal contributions to its support and draw out equal returns not only in the daily physical services of food, clothing and shelter, but as well in the broadening of experience and all the satisfactions of life. As junior members enter the group, they are advanced as rapidly as possible to a full partnership relation. At its best the group provides for its members, adult and child alike, broad opportunity for the development of individual personality. . . . The social results of sound family life can be had only if the economic basis of the household is sound.

PERFORMANCE OF ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE HOME

In seeking a sound and satisfactory adjustment of the economic functions of the home in modern life, it is important to analyze what the rôle of modern woman is as a productive worker. Historically, the household was long the sole productive agent, and until the Industrial Revolution, the central agent in all production. It is said on many sides today, that the Industrial Revolution has taken all production out of the home, and that the function of women who remain in the home is merely that of a consumer.

Here is a fundamental misconception which must be cleared up if the economic bases of the modern home are to be rightly interpreted, for there is a clear-cut distinction between production for exchange, which has largely, if not entirely, left our homes, and production for immediate consumption, which still remains in the home and must continue to remain there if the *quality* of our living is to continue to rise. Production for exchange today involves specialization, large-scale production, factories, offices, shops, and all the machinery of modern commerce and transportation. Production for immediate consumption involves the ability to take the raw or semi-prepared materials, and further to prepare them for immediate use to satisfy the needs of the individual consumer. Both are, in the opinion of the writer, equally important parts of productive activity, although this is often denied. As Dr. Devine has pointed out: [4]

It is not true that man alone is a producer. Not only has the field of industry and of professional life been occupied, and honorably so, by woman, but also in the home itself, woman may be said in the strictest sense to be a producer of wealth. The work of cook and chambermaid is production. The direction of the home establishment is production. A steak is worth more broiled and placed on the table than it is in the butcher's tray. We recognize that if it is a question of paying for it in an eating house; so should we also recognize it in our own dining rooms. Rugs and carpets are worth more after they are swept and cleaned. We recognize that at house-cleaning time if we pay a man to carry them away for a beating; so should we also recognize it when with far greater labor they are kept bright and clean by daily use of the broom.

Dr. Andrews points out that in the homes of this country, twenty-odd million women spend four to six hours a day, on the average, on work concerned with making food ready for human use. Of all the productive labor hours connected with food more than half probably is contributed by home women. He further emphasizes the distinction between *money* incomes and *real* incomes, or the amount of economic goods which the money income will secure. It is just here that the household is effective. It is the household that, for the normal

[4] Devine, Edward T., *The Economic Function of Woman*, p. 9, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City, 1910.

individual, makes the exchange of money income into goods or real income. One of the immediate active causes of high or low real income in a family is efficiency in the housekeeping function of turning money into goods and satisfaction for each individual member. Does it not seem clear that the woman who manages her home intelligently and wisely is just as much a producer of wealth as the man who manages wisely his office or factory? The direction of wealth consumption is an act of production, not of consumption. The home becomes, then, comparable to an industrial plant, and the man and woman who form a partnership and formulate the policies of the administration and management of such a home are the executives of such a plant. Their relationships with their employees must be put on a dignified and reasonable basis, following sound personnel procedure as it is being developed in other industrial plants by progressive and socially minded managers and employers.

All such recognition of the amount and importance of the work of the home must be accompanied by an acceptance of all the other factors which our homes are facing today. As it is true that production for exchange has largely, if not entirely, left the home, so it is true that much of this production for immediate consumption has been made easier by labor-saving and other devices, and that the preparation of canned vegetables, the use of commercial laundries, commercial agencies for window-cleaning and for other needs are taking much work out of our homes. Centers for ready-cooked meals and community kitchens should all be encouraged and experimented with that we may open up every possible resource for eliminating from the home every type of work which can be better done outside the home. It is true, however, that after accepting all the assistance which can possibly be secured from outside agencies, there remains in every home an irreducible minimum of work to be done daily, far more than is generally recognized or admitted. It is also true that this work is economically productive and socially important, that it should be analyzed and studied and understood, and then organized in such a way as to bring into the home an atmosphere of satisfaction and peace, thus releasing the personalities of all the members of the family for social, cultural, and spiritual values. Such job analysis of the work-life of the home will be based upon the recognition and acceptance of the great value of individual differences in individuals and in homes, and the emphasis will be upon conserving all individual differences which bring satisfaction in the long run to the individual and to the group. It must also be recognized, however, that there are individual differences which are destructive alike to the individual, and to the group, and that such individual differences must be discouraged and redirected in order that the greatest satisfaction may be attained.

WHO ARE THE WORKERS IN THE HOMES OF TODAY?

In the vast majority of the homes of our country, the daily work of the home is being carried largely, if not entirely, by members of the family group. In the first place, it is considered the function of the mother to take the money income earned by the husband, and, through her services, to transform it into real income by purchasing raw and semi-finished materials and so changing and recombining them that they will satisfy the economic needs of all the members of the

family. Secondly, in a great many homes the husband is a partner and co-worker in the economic functions of the household, and by caring for the furnace, keeping the plumbing and electrical devices in repair, and overseeing the care of the grounds, not to mention the paying of bills and sharing in the keeping of accounts, he likewise satisfies the needs of the family directly in an economic sense, not alone in the parent-child relationship, but also as economically productive worker in the home. In the third place, the children in the family are sharing in the work of the home, satisfying their own needs and waiting on themselves in every possible way as early as possible, learning by doing, whether it be by waiting on the table, washing dishes, caring for the furnace, or by sharing the care of the younger members of the family group. Such economic activity may undoubtedly have great educational value if it is allotted on the basis of sound educational procedure, and in accordance with the needs of growth of the individual personality involved. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." It is just as bad for any one member of the family group to be overburdened with too much work and responsibility, thus being exploited by the others, as it is for any one member to be freed from his fair share and thus allowed to build up patterns of indolence and exploitation of others. There is room right here for a vast amount of study of successful homes, and experimentation, that we may understand how much responsibility can be shouldered at different ages without strain. Nursery schools are emphasizing the importance of the development of self-reliance and consideration of others by giving even the very young child tasks which are fitted to his abilities and needs for growth. It is very important that the work to be done in the home by any individual should be coördinated with the work-life outside the home, the play-life and other interests throughout the twenty-four hours. This is being studied thoroughly for the mother,[5] but will undoubtedly be considered increasingly for the father of the family and for the children, as the importance of fostering the development of human personality is more fully recognized.

PAID WORKERS IN AMERICAN HOMES

In those homes where the money income is sufficiently large (probably not over 5 per cent of the homes of our country), paid workers are engaged to assist the members of the family in performing the routine tasks of the home. In a recent survey made in Philadelphia[6] of 2,833 household employees, one-fourth were men and three-fourths were women. In discussing these employees in the household, it must be remembered that men as well as women are included. The supply of really skilled, efficient and reliable workers for the home is unequal to the demand, and has been for many years. There is a decided social maladjustment here in the coördination of demand and supply, in the problems of adequate training, and in the development of sound placement and supervision, after the worker is on the job. These are problems which managers and employers and workers in our homes must face and work out together through careful thought and intelligent group action. It is towards the solution

[5] The Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests, Smith College, Ethel Puffer Howes, Director.

[6] Watson, Amey E., "Philadelphia Study of Household Employment," a Preliminary Report, *The Friend*, February 7, 1929, pp. 378–381.

of such problems that the National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home is turning its attention.

STUDIES OF DOMESTIC SERVICE AND ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS

The most outstanding study of this subject was made by Dr. Lucy H. Salmon in 1890 in her book, *Domestic Service*,[7] which presents the history of domestic service in America, analyzes its social and economic aspects in the light of information furnished by some 2,000 employees and employers, and offers recommendations for the improvement of conditions. The background of our modern problem is found by Miss Salmon in the earlier forms of service, the indentured servant, the slave worker, as well as in the more recent problem of the immigrant worker. The economic factors of wages, hours, probabilities of promotion, and living conditions, and especially social factors such as the use of the first name in address, the special garb, the feeling of inferiority which is expected—all of these have put a social stigma upon domestic service, and lead young women to choose other lines of employment rather than this. Miss Salmon's thinking is fundamentally careful and constructive. Many of her recommendations are yet to be put into effect in solving this problem.

Two experiments in Boston were made in the years shortly before the opening of this century, which added a contribution to the possible solutions in this field although neither experiment succeeded and survived, possibly because both were born ahead of their time. The Household Aid Company, which included Alice Freeman Palmer and Ellen H. Richards among its advisers, undertook to furnish trained household workers by the hour. The company established a headquarters' house where the Household Aids were to live, and gave them training under competent Home Economics instructors. The other enterprise was the Domestic Reform League of the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, which began in 1897 to make surveys of local conditions in domestic employment, issuing various studies starting a school, stimulating statistical surveys by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and publishing for a time a quarterly Bulletin of the Domestic Reform League. Some of the studies concerned hours of labor, social conditions in domestic service, and the cost of home-made, as contrasted with commercially prepared foods. A standard form of contract for domestic service was issued. This intelligent local movement to improve conditions in household employment should be studied by all other cities interested in attacking this problem.

The labor problems involved in domestic service were analyzed by Dr. I. M. Rubinow in 1906.[8] Dr. Rubinow calls for the same standards in household employment as in all other fields of labor. Domestic service with agricultural labor remains the one trade, he points out, which receives its pay in kind, as well as in cash, and the room and board which the domestic worker is asked to take as part payment for her work, is often a depreciated currency. Her hours of work have remained unlimited and indefinite, subject to the caprice of the employer,

[7] Salmon, Lucy H., *Domestic Service*, New York, 1897. 2nd edition, 1901. For the substance of this and the following paragraphs, see Andrews, Benjamin R., *The Economics of the Household*, pp. 453–457, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927.

[8] Rubinow, I. M., "The Problem of Domestic Service," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1906, pp. 502–509.

while all other trades have achieved a standard workday, as well as a standard wage. Living-in puts the worker quite at the mercy of the employer as regards uncertain hours of work, and deprives her of personal liberty. Tasks in the household are often uncertain, varied, and unorganized, while work in other fields has been reduced to a more definite routine. These economic conditions make normal personal life difficult and are a barrier to marriage and a home of one's own. The stigma on housework is primarily due to unequal economic conditions. Dr. Rubinow's program for progress calls for an absolutely cash wage, the living of the worker in her own home away from her place of employment, and a limited workday to be secured by the worker's own efforts, and other economic changes that will equalize conditions in the domestic field with those in general industry.[9]

In 1915 the Household Employment Commission of the National Young Women's Christian Association made a report to that organization in a pamphlet entitled, *The Road to Trained Service in the Household.*[10] The following are suggested as the fundamental requirements of a good job:

Reasonable and definite hours
Freedom from social stigma
Systematized work
Adequate wages
Work in harmony with personal inclination
Opportunity for advancement
Favorable working conditions
Steady employment
Variety of work

[9] See Andrews, Benjamin R., *Economics of the Household*, pp. 453–457.

[10] First Report of the Household Employment Commission, 1915, and *The Road to Trained Service in the Household*, National Board, Y. W. C. A., New York.

This report concludes that household employment at present fails to measure up to the fundamental requirements of a good job on at least four points:

Hours
Systematized work
Opportunity for advancement
Social stigma

The home has inherited many outworn relics of the relation of owner and slave. Even now the relation of mistress to maid or master to man is the one prevailing in many homes. The new relationship between employer-employee, which is generally accepted in other industries, is possible in the home, but involves a reorganization of the work life of the home. However, this Commission stated its belief that such a relationship offers such vastly greater returns in human happiness and satisfaction, that intelligent employers cannot fail to undertake such reorganization.

Mention must also be made of the outstanding experiment being carried on in New York City known as Scientific Housekeeping, Inc., of which Mrs. Richard Boardman is the executive. This organization aims to appeal to a high type of employee for efficient work in the home on an eight-hour day basis, or service by the hour. Workers live in their own homes and eat no meals in their place of employment. They are trained by the organization and must attain a certain standard of performance before they are placed. The agency studies each individual home and, on the basis of a job analysis, decides how many workers are needed. The agency keeps full responsibility for the supervision of its workers after they are placed. This experiment has been in operation over a period of eight years and undoubtedly has much of value to contribute from its experience.

Other American cities are experi-

menting in this field, and the National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home hopes to be a clearing house for information in all such work. Mention should be made of the Bureau of Household Occupations of Boston, Providence, and Hartford, which are seeking to develop trained home assistants who work in the homes for an eight-hour day, or by the hour.

The National Young Women's Christian Association has for a number of years been related to domestic workers in two ways, (1) through their employment agencies; (2) through their club work. A few employment bureaus have made definite studies and are attempting to do placement work in a way that will uphold standards. In the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association, since 1924, there has been a group of girls in domestic service who are increasingly conscious of, and eager for opportunity to discuss the problems of their occupation, and to raise the standards of their jobs. During the past year, Miss Dieckmann, of the National Industrial Staff, has headed up two types of opportunity for those eager to help improve employer-employee relations in the home and to develop standards in the occupations connected with homemaking. The first is an opportunity to help get the facts by filling out general information questionnaires concerning the kind of workers, the kinds of jobs, the conditions of work, and the opinions of the workers about their occupation. The second lies in the way of keeping accurate time records of housework for a typical week, and, upon the basis of these records, to formulate a schedule of work. The schedule may, of course, be improved from time to time as experience shows the way, and should never be allowed to become inflexible. That a schedule is likely to be an incentive for more efficient use of time, both at work and during leisure hours, however, has been proved by those who have tried it. The instructions for making these schedules were prepared by the Home Economics Bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture, for the use of home makers, but can be used with slight adaptations by those employed as assistants in the home, provided these assistants have the coöperation of their employers, or are allowed considerable initiative. The Homemakers' Section of the American Home Economics Association has promised to try to help find trained household economists to advise in the making of these schedules.

A questionnaire was sent to a group of household employees in Cleveland, asking them what they felt to be the advantages and disadvantages of household employment as compared with other occupations.[11] Their replies may be summarized as follows:

Advantages of household employment contrasted with other jobs:

1. Slight expense of living as room and board are included with wage, and other expenses are few.
2. Therefore a greater opportunity to save money.
3. Good food and usually good living quarters.
4. Employers more interested in employee than is true in case of factory or large scale office.
5. You work where you live and do not have to go out for work.

Disadvantages:

1. Too great dependence, have to ask for every favor such as an extra hour off, etc.
2. Lack of definiteness, inability to plan ahead.

[11] *Y. W. C. A. Bulletin,* Industrial Department of National Board of Y. W. C. A., No. XVIII, July, 1927, p. 11.

3. Lack of opportunity for self-improvement.
4. Long working hours.
5. Too much Sunday work, as Sunday is a day of feasting.
6. Lack of opportunity to make and keep friends, loneliness, lack of opportunity for marriage.
7. Lack of respect from employer and society generally.
8. Sometimes uncomfortable surroundings.

The work which the Y. W. C. A. is fostering in its clubs for household employees is described in an article in the *Journal of Home Economics* for February, 1929.[12] The efforts of individual employees to improve the conditions of work is described in several articles in the *Woman's Press*, 1928.[13]

A survey of the studies thus far made in this field would not be complete without reference to the analysis of the records of the Domestic Efficiency Association of Baltimore, made by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in 1924.[14] A survey of household employment has also recently been made in Philadelphia on the basis of which, it is hoped, that a permanent organization may develop.[15] Many other pieces of work might be mentioned including the formation of a Domestic Assistants' Club, by the Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests, at Smith College.[16] An extremely valuable piece of placement and supervision of carefully selected governesses is being carried on by Dr. Jess Pereman of the Associated Guidance Bureau of New York City.

PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP IN THE HOME

It is inevitable that as human beings associate intimately together, the needs of their different personalities will collide and social conflict will ensue. It is especially to be expected that in the home where people both live and work together, there will be clashes of personality which if not understood and guided wisely will produce antagonisms and destructive emotions. A valuable contribution is here being made to our thinking by the sociologists who tell us that there is a creative aspect to conflict, can we but understand it aright, that it is possible for human beings to learn gradually to understand each other's purposes and ideals, and gradually to fit together the desires of widely varying personalities, so that these purposes may be woven together into an integrated harmonious whole, rather than into a disintegrated, inchoate conflict. Is it not true that this conception of the constructive possibilities of conflict and its solution apply to the problems of relationships within the family group, and particularly to the subject of this article, employer-employee relationships in the home? There have undoubtedly been many cases of the relationship between the mistress and maid in the home

[12] Underdahl, Berdena, "Club for Household Employees," *Journal of Home Economics*, February, 1929, pp. 108–109.

[13] "Maid and Mistress, Two Letters on the Subject of Domestic Work and Workers," *The Woman's Press*, June, 1928, p. 414. Also Ingram, Martha, "Budgeting Your Time; How One Domestic Worker Achieved a Well-Ordered Eight-Hour Day," *The Woman's Press*, August, 1928, p. 560.

[14] Robinson, Mary V., *Domestic Workers and their Employment Relations*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1924, 87 pp.

[15] Watson, Amey E., "The Homemaking Industry." "Philadelphia Makes a Coöperative Study of the Relation between the Employer and the Employee in the Home," *The Woman's Press*, July, 1928, pp. 473–476.

[16] Stocks, Esther H., *A Community Home Assistants' Experiment*, Institute for the Coördination of Women's Interests, Publication No. 5, 30 pp.

where harmony and goodwill have obtained over long periods of living and working together. There are, however, other instances where conflict and antagonism prevail. As the conditions of life are changing, and many other opportunities are opening up for economic activity, it is essential that employers understand these principles of successful relations and apply them to the workers they employ.

In his book, *The Science of Social Relationships*,[17] Dr. Hornell Hart summarizes the various methods which may be utilized for the solution of conflict. The use of force or violence has certain arguments in its favor, he says, but on the whole coercion is a socially dangerous tool because of its adaptability to exploitation, destructive antagonism and fraud. A second solution of conflict is that of avoidance, of *laissez faire*. Many persons who today might enjoy working in a home as a paid employee, recognize the conflict that might ensue, under present conditions, and they avoid such a solution of their own problems. Dr. Hart points out that this solution is not dynamic and constructive. A third step is the attempt to work out just solutions of social conflict. Justice means the solution of social conflict on the basis of accepted principles. Rules adopted by contending groups as an agreed basis for the solution of subsequent controversies are illustrations of this type of solution. We must organize groups of employers in the home and stimulate them to work out collective contracts which may serve as a basis for justice in their relations with their workers.

There is, however, a fourth and far more constructive solution of social conflict which Dr. Hart calls the technique of creative accommodation. Mutual understanding is the foundation of goodwill. Deliberate efforts made by both parties to put oneself in the other's place is bound to foster such understanding. All the incidental conditions which lead to antagonism and prevent integration of purpose should be cleared away. The discovery of what the purposes and possibilities of the other personalities are, opens the way to the skilful social engineer in uncostly ways, to release, stimulate and facilitate the personalities involved. Dr. Hart points out the further steps in the creative interweaving of the conflicting personalities in such a way that the integrity of each personality is preserved and yet common purposes and solutions are made to fit together, to bring results which neither personality could have achieved alone.

Such integration of purpose is already present in many of our socially creative homes, but for many there still remains unexplored possibilities in applying the principle of creative accommodation in the relation between employer and employee in the home. While individuals may do much single-handed by working out their own individual solution, the best results can only be achieved when the community as a whole recognizes the significance of the work of the home and organizes all its forces to bring about a better adjustment in this field. There are at least three ways in which the community can work for better employer-employee relationships in the home. First of all boys and girls alike can be educated in both home and school to a realization of their rôle as potential home makers, and fitted for their places either as managers or workers or both.

In the second place, agencies may be developed in every community which

[17] Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relationships*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1927, 664 pp.

shall serve as a center and clearing house to educate both employers and employees to understand their relationship. Such agencies may include group conferences of employers and employees, placement work and supervision after the worker is on the job. Adequate placement work will undoubtedly include a job analysis of the individual home, as well as personality studies of potential employers and of potential employees. There is a challenging opportunity for constructive study and experimentation in developing better techniques of supervising workers after they are placed on the job. As in other types of industry, it is important that the employer and supervisor should understand and accept the limitations of the worker's personality, but that, after adequately gauging the adaptive capacity of the individual, the job should be so organized and adjusted that it serves as a constant stimulus to growth and mastery on the part of the worker. It is undoubtedly true that the average home maker will not have the necessary psychological insight or skills in handling social relationships to bring about the subtle adjustments which are possible and desirable in the employer-employee relationship in the home, and, therefore, it seems necessary that agencies specializing in this work must gradually develop in our communities. A third way in which the community can be organized in this field is in the collection of research data, facts from actual life situations, gathered as far as possible by the participating observers, themselves home makers, employees, and by these specialized agencies, showing what relationships in the home are now existing, how these relationships between employer and employee are changing and how they can be guided to bring about the greatest satisfaction for all concerned. The National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home welcomes coöperation from all to the end that men and women together in our country may gradually work out some satisfactory solutions in this particular phase of home life.

Efficiency of Women Workers

By Lillian M. Gilbreth, Ph.D.
President, Gilbreth, Inc., Consulting Engineers

EFFICIENCY in its fundamentals has to do with getting work done with the least amount of effort and the greatest amount of satisfaction, and this interpreted extends into all fields. The most progress in the study of efficiency has been made when, in so far as possible, emphasis on differences has been minimized, and fundamental likenesses have been sought. This means that in considering the question of the efficiency of women workers some consideration of the efficiency of workers in general, whether in the production field, in office work, in selling, in hospitals and other institutions, or in the home, is of first importance. This does not mean, however, that individual differences as they affect both skills and satisfactions should not be studied, but only that the generally underlying principles of efficiency should receive first attention.

Job Analysis in Relation to Efficiency

The first step in securing efficiency is an adequate job analysis. This means finding out exactly what a job covers in extent of work to be done, the type of person best suited to do such a job, and how, when, and where it can best be done. No matter whether one calls such job analysis time study, motion study, skill study, or by any other name, the aim is to find out the method by which work should be done in order to get for the worker the greatest amount of output at the least expenditure of time and effort with the least resulting fatigue, and with the highest amount of pay.

The job analysis looks upon the work studied not as a highly specialized job for a highly specialized individual, but as human activity. This method of attack has distinct advantages in that it does away with all preconceived notions and limitations, and allows to be called into the field of comparison work of all kinds, in every line, done by all kinds of people, in all kinds of ways. It means that when the worker is measured to the job that not only the possibilities of that job are considered, but also those of other similar jobs, perhaps in widely diversified lines, so that there can be not only proper placement in a particular job, but a basis for possible shifts and transfers, as well as possible lines of promotion in differing fields.

The job analysis results in job classifications which list, under detailed descriptions of the jobs, the physical, mental, and emotional characteristics which particular jobs require. Progressive industries are now able to furnish their employment and training departments with material which makes it possible to evaluate a job as compared with the possibilities of an applicant. Tests of various sorts now make possible also a personality analysis of the worker which enables the worker to know more definitely as to the qualities possessed in comparison with those required by various job specifications, to the end that the worker has far more chance than previously for a successful placement and adjustment.

The work, just getting under way, in the study of satisfactions covering quantity satisfaction, quality satisfaction, satisfaction in use of machines,

etc., will help the worker to evaluate what he is getting from his work as well as to know what he may look for in any job to which he may turn. One type of work after another is being tested as to the type of satisfactions it offers, and one type of worker after another is being tested as to the satisfactions enjoyed. It is significant to note that as yet fundamental sex differences have not been found, although type differences are increasingly apparent. It is true that superficial investigation often proves men or women lacking in certain satisfactions, but the cause of this lack is usually to be traced to lack of opportunity for enjoying the satisfaction, or to some taboo, or convention, or preconceived notion as to the undesirability of having such a satisfaction.

Industry, in the past, has been neglectful not only in failing to make a job and personality analysis, but also in asking too much and giving too little in pay in proportion to effort, as well as in opportunity in comparison with capacity. To fill a job with a man or woman qualified for a better job is waste and should result in rapid turnover as it often does. If there is not such turnover there is apt to be boredom and either dissatisfaction and a constant resistance to the job, or indifference, pessimistic reverie, or worse. To fill a job with a man or woman just capable of doing the work means, perhaps, satisfaction at the outset but the lack of stimulus for advancement. The wise and efficient management selects a man or a woman capable of doing the work but requiring training, then furnishes the training with a resulting satisfaction in work and a decrease in turnover which is astounding to those not acquainted with the fundamental reasons for this response.

During the past few years, extended investigations in the field of the analysis of skills has been made. A graduate seminar in the Department of Social Economy at Bryn Mawr College worked at this project in several of the metal working plants in Philadelphia in 1918, and part of the findings from this study are being incorporated in a thesis by Mildred Fairchild, which will appear shortly.[1] Another section of the material gathered at that time is being followed through in the laboratory by Anne Shaw, who also has under way a thesis in this field. A technique for recording, measuring, and comparing skills similar to that for studying motions has been developed and is being tested in the laboratory and in industries. The results should furnish great help in making job analyses.

Such investigations as these indicate that neither the place of the job, that is, shop, office, store, or home, nor the sex of the worker are limiting factors to efficiency unless they indicate lack of opportunity. It is also seen that any kind of work and any kind of worker is subject to motion analysis which results in better methods. Such analyses are the basis of measurement of efficiency and their availability and application will ultimately result in giving to women as to men, knowledge of their equipment for handling various types of activities, and data for deriving their real or potential economic contribution.

JOB ANALYSIS AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN

The job analysis automatically opens to women workers opportunities in every field limited only by such boundaries as are the results of accumulated measurement showing not only what they can do, but also what they can thrive under and find satisfaction in doing. It is necessary to emphasize

[1] Fairchild, Mildred, *Study of Industrial Processes As a Tool in the Training of Social Workers.*

these last three points for, increasingly, job analyses show that many more kinds of work than even the most optimistic had thought probable can be done by women. The war was of enormous assistance in proving this by actual cases. When a woman has done a job involving great physical, mental, and emotional power, it is difficult to prove that she cannot do such a job. To make sure that she thrives under the doing and gets a real permanent satisfaction is another story.

The woman worker is in no wise differentiated from the man in the application of the technique of measurement. She does differ, of course, in some respects as a sex, physically, and perhaps mentally and emotionally as well, though of this there is, as yet, insufficient proof. So many things which have been accepted time without end as sex differences have proved to be only type differences that it is necessary to proceed slowly and carefully in any investigation if insufficiently grounded hypotheses are to be avoided. It may be that the findings of the ancients as to sex differences, mental and emotional, were wrong. It may be that evolution is bringing about changes which make even such findings as were right no longer serviceable. It may be that those who feel that type likenesses are more important than individual differences have overemphasized the exceptional which it is always easy to do. Certainly a quarter of a century's intensive investigation in this field would seem to indicate that the safest method is to grant unlimited opportunity for all, regardless of sex, but to check most carefully on achievement, the effect on the individual achieving, and the satisfactions of that individual, his family, social group, and community.

Women in industry, all women, may rejoice in an age when all facts are respectable, clear thinking and plain speaking fashionable, and sentimentality differentiated from sentiment. We no longer say "Be chivalrous" or "Be partisan" but "Be fair." We no longer exalt one career over another. We no longer look up to or down on the home-maker as different from her sisters. At least it is to be hoped that we no longer do any of these things. We have "jobs" and "workers" of both sexes and in every field.

SOME REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFICIENCY IN WOMEN WORKERS

If there were available detailed, accurate, first-hand case records of successful women in all lines of work, including home-making (and it is a reflection on our narrow-mindedness that one should have to say including home-making), we should have gone a long way in our attempt to evaluate efficiency of women workers.

In the meantime there are sufficient data to set down a few requirements which it seems necessary that a woman who would be efficient in her work should follow. The first is a philosophy of work which makes it something to be desired rather than something to be shunned. Without such a philosophy, consciously or unconsciously, a resentment to the work is likely to result thus making it impossible for her to find adequate self expression in it. Professor Thomas Pear of Manchester, England, in his two stimulating books, *Skill in Work and Play*, and *Fitness for Work*, makes it clear that in the highest and most satisfying type of skill the user expresses his personality freely and shows in his product not only likenesses to others using a similar highly developed type of skill, but also individual differences which are all his own. This is only possible where the worker loves the work and throws the whole personality into it.

Another prerequisite for a satisfied worker, whether woman or man, is pleasure in making an economic contribution. It is only recently that this has come to be recognized so that even the home-maker (and again we apologize for the "even") is enabled to evaluate what she does at the market price. These are only a few factors of the problem of getting the most satisfaction as well as efficiency in jobs, but it is indicative of what can happen when artificial barriers are discarded and essential likenesses are emphasized.

PERSONAL EFFICIENCY AND THE INTEGRATION OF ACTIVITIES

Just as one cannot consider oneself as an individual and out of relationship with the group with which one works, so ones job cannot be considered as an isolated fact, but always in relation to the other jobs which fill up the twenty-four hours of the day. For every individual, man and woman alike, there is the home job as well as the industrial job, and perhaps other jobs, no matter how elementary or unsatisfying any of these jobs may be. Evaluation on the basis of the total efficiency displayed in all one's activities, rather than in one phase only must come to be the standard. Every job must be given what it deserves and can absorb, and it must also be realized that too much as well as too little may be given. There are over-privileged and under-privileged jobs as well as over-privileged and under-privileged children. The woman who lavishes all her emotions on her job in industry may fail of the desired response from the job as surely as the man who lavishes energy on his industrial job, may fail of the response from the home job. There is here a fine study in proportion and emphasis.

It is for women as a group, to stress the likenesses between the types of work which they do and the types of work which men do; to ask no privileges but accept offered opportunities as challenges for adequate work; to look for and expect no unfair treatment, discourtesy, or partisanship; and to realize that all three of these alike reflect on their attitudes. In short, it is for women to recognize their capabilities and their limitations and be proud of and ashamed of neither. It is for women, also, to recognize their differences from men and from each other and to know that these differences may be interpreted as assets or liabilities, largely according to one's attitude toward them. The efficient woman worker is the one who recognizes the facts and their implications, adapts herself to them, develops herself to her highest capability—physical, mental, and emotional—works hard and steadily, uses her leisure to supplement and enrich her work, and enjoys the satisfactions which result, unimpaired by inhibitions of the past, undismayed by destructive criticism of the present, and unafraid of the future.

Occupations and Earnings of Women in Industry

By Alice Rogers Hager
Associate Editor, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

WOMEN are still faced with the most vital of all inequalities—that of the pocketbook. In spite of their steadily increasing equality with men across an ever widening field of interest, this matter of the rate of payment for work done continues to be their most serious problem. Suffrage is won, and the woman vote has registered itself in no uncertain terms; the bars are down in practically all the professions; one in every five wage earners is a woman, and this army of more than 8,500,000 women gainfully employed has made its way into all but thirty-five of the 572 occupations listed by the 1920 census. Women hunt big game; they fly continents and oceans; they explore unknown islands and search for new stars; they write, manage, produce, and act in dramas of stage and screen; they make laws and enforce them; they are firemen, furnacemen, glassblowers, brick and stone masons, and lighthouse keepers (though in small numbers); they turn the wheels of industry by the millions. They are no longer an intriguing speculation, but an arrived fact. They have moved by the thousands out of the low-grade, unskilled places in industry, into every imaginable type of semi-skilled and skilled position, and they continue so to move daily. But they are still, with startlingly few exceptions, earning at an appreciably lower standard than that of the men with whom they work.

Women's employment is no new phenomenon in the United States. They have been wage earners in steadily increasing numbers since the early days of American industrial development. They have kept pace with the expanding tide of industry, but the consciousness of their presence has spread through the minds of the general public only as they have moved into more conspicuous positions and out of domestic service and agricultural pursuits into the great factory units and the business offices. The women serving as individuals in private homes, or as laborers on private farms, are much less visible as a social factor than are the thousands of women surging through the gates of the textile mills, or flooding lower Broadway morning, noon, and night.

The Occupational History of Women Wage Earners in the United States Since 1870

Before it is possible to analyze the reasons for this condition, it is necessary to review briefly the occupational history of women wage earners through the last few decades in the United States. Going back to 1870, when we first had census figures in which gainfully-employed persons were separated by sex, we shall find useful the accompanying chart, taken from a recent report of the Women's Bureau.[1] In this chart, in order to bring out the rates of increase of men and women gainfully occupied as compared with their rates of increase in the total population, the numbers employed in 1870 have been used as the base (100)

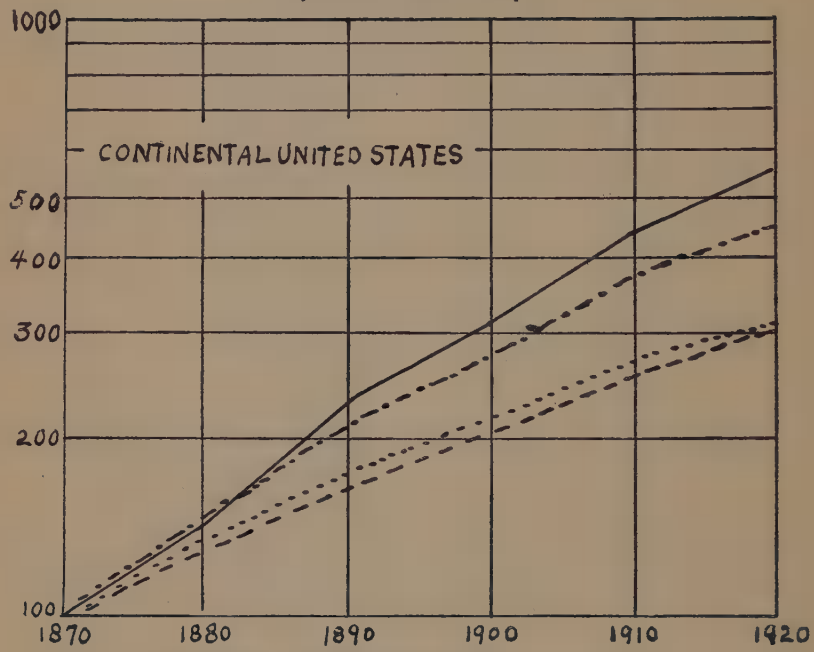
[1] United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women*, Bulletin No. 65, 1928, p. 9.

and the ratio has been plotted on a logarithmic scale. Persons engaged in agricultural pursuits have been excluded because of the variation in the method of taking the census of this group, which would affect the general scale.

CHART I

INDEX OF POPULATION AND OF NUMBERS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1870 TO 1920, BY SEX

[Number in 1870 = 100]



- - - - Female population 16 years and over
——— Same, gainfully occupied (non-agricultural pursuits)
- - - - - - Male population 16 years and over
· — · — · Same, gainfully occupied (non-agricultural pursuits)

From this chart it will be seen that there has been a steady increase in the number both of men and of women wage earners, in proportion to their numbers in the total population, and that women workers have come into the business and industrial world at a greater proportionate rate than have men. An even clearer picture of this development may be had from the table, on page 67 showing the decades in which the greatest increases have occurred.

From this table it will be seen that the greatest proportionate gain for women workers came within the decade 1880 to 1890, when this increase in women workers was 64.4 per cent as against a population gain in the total number of women of only 28.5 per cent. The decade from 1870 to 1880 showed a 43.2 per cent gain in women wage earners as compared with an increase in the female population of 31.6 per cent; and the decade 1900 to 1910 showed a gain of 48.7 per cent as compared with a gain of 24.9 per cent

in the population. It is worth noting, also, that during the last decade for which we have figures, 1910 to 1920, the increase in gainfully-employed women dropped to 20.9 per cent, and the increase in population to 17.3 per cent. In fact, the much discussed influx of women into industry during war time did not show up in the census figures, and was in reality more a shifting of groups than an actual tremendous jump in the numbers of those working for payment. This shifting of groups is illustrated in the table on page 68, which includes agricultural workers and shows the proportion that women formed in the various occupational groups in 1910 and 1920.

In so short a period as is here noted, the swing away from domestic and personal service is explained by the frequently more attractive working conditions, greater freedom, and higher pay of the factory worker over those of the household servant. Small increases in number will be seen in trade, in the professions, in transportation, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The large increase in clerical service is particularly striking.

The tendency of women workers to spread out into the more highly skilled and better paid jobs is a matter that is subject to many diverse influences and is not necessarily represented in the census figures. This shifting of women from one field to another is best shown, however, by the subdivision of occupations. There were 203 occupations in 1910 and 232 in 1920 in which a thousand or more women were employed.

Many of the large increases in women workers occurred in the manufacturing and mechanical industries and in the professions. Clerks in offices, stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, teachers, saleswomen, telephone operators, trained nurses, and clerks in stores, each showed increases of 50,000 or more during the decade, while farm laborers at home, farm laborers working out, cooks, general servants, laundresses, dressmakers, seamstresses not in factories,

TABLE I—MALES AND FEMALES IN THE POPULATION AS COMPARED WITH MALES AND FEMALES GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, 1870 TO 1920 *

Census Year	Population		Gainfully Occupied †	
	Male ‡	Female ‡	Male ‡	Female ‡
1870	11,418,666	11,205,910	4,996,203	1,321,364
1880	15,359,866	14,752,268	7,388,171	1,895,279
1890§	20,133,514	18,957,672	10,718,649	3,116,757
1900‖	24,701,695	23,360,553	13,839,898	4,057,092
1910	31,563,330	29,188,575	18,909,095	6,041,362
1920	35,994,984	34,241,749	22,940,697	7,306,844

* Summarized from Table I in Appendix A of Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 65, *Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women.*

† Exclusive of agriculture.

‡ Sixteen years of age and over.

§ The age groupings of the gainfully occupied in this year were such that it was necessary to take the gainfully-occupied persons fifteen years of age and over instead of those sixteen years of age and over.

‖ Exclusive of Indian Territory, with approximately 33,000 men and 6,000 women gainfully occupied, not obtainable for any other year.

TABLE II—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS, BY SEX, 1910 AND 1920 *

Occupational Division	Census Year	All Employees	Women		Men	
			Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
All occupations	1910	38,167,336	8,075,772	21.2	30,091,564	78.8
	1920	41,614,248	8,549,511	20.5	33,064,737	79.5
Agriculture †	1910	12,659,082	1,807,501	14.3	10,851,581	85.7
	1920	10,953,158	1,084,128	9.9	9,869,030	90.1
Mining	1910	965,169	1,094	0.1	964,075	99.9
	1920	1,090,223	2,864	0.3	1,087,359	99.7
Manufacturing and mechanical	1910	10,628,731	1,820,570	17.1	8,808,161	82.9
	1920	12,818,524	1,930,341	15.1	10,888,183	84.9
Transportation	1910	2,637,420	106,625	4.0	2,530,795	96.0
	1920	3,063,582	213,054	7.0	2,850,528	93.0
Trade	1910	3,614,670	468,088	12.9	3,146,582	87.1
	1920	4,242,979	667,792	15.7	3,575,187	84.3
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	1910	459,291	13,558	3.0	445,733	97.0
	1920	770,460	21,794	2.8	748,666	97.2
Professional	1910	1,693,361	733,891	43.3	959,470	56.7
	1920	2,143,889	1,016,498	47.4	1,127,391	52.6
Domestic and personal	1910	3,772,559	2,531,221	67.1	1,241,338	32.9
	1920	3,404,892	2,186,924	64.2	1,217,968	35.8
Clerical	1910	1,737,053	593,224	34.2	1,143,829	65.8
	1920	3,126,541	1,426,116	45.6	1,700,425	54.4

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 46, *Facts About Working Women*, p. 6.

† The census date was changed from April 15 in 1910 to January 1 in 1920, a fact considered by the Bureau of the Census to account largely for the decrease in the number of persons employed in agricultural pursuits, because of the small amount of farming done during the winter months.

and milliners and millinery dealers, each decreased 50,000 or more during the same period. Semi-skilled operatives in food, iron and steel, and clothing industries, in silk and knitting mills, and in electrical-supply, shoe, and cigar-and-tobacco factories, laborers in cotton mills, and forewomen and overseers in manufacturing, each increased respectively by more than 10,000. One spectacular increase was in the automobile industry, where women operatives in factories gained 1,408 per cent in the ten-year period. Men operatives in a like time showed only 435.4 per cent growth, but it must be remembered that in actual numbers the low base from which the women started in 1910 is largely accountable for the great divergence in these percentages. Thus, in 1910, there were 20,243 men and 848 women; in 1920,

there were 108,376 men and 12,788 women. The widening opportunities of the women, however, are obvious.[2]

Opportunity to Work Versus Opportunity to Earn

It will be seen from this brief discussion that opportunities for the woman who wishes to work are everywhere, but they are not all pleasant and smiling opportunities, nor are all doors open even yet. The unskilled woman, with little education, sometimes foreign born and speaking no English, or scarcely any, finds fierce competition among the jobs accessible to her. It is not always man competition. More often than not her competitors are other women, just as hungry as she is and with just as many other mouths at home to feed. These women are seldom organized; they are bewildered by the vastness and impersonality of the industrial organization in which they find themselves enmeshed; their only hope is the regular coming of the pay envelope at the end of the week's work. They have no resources within themselves with which to meet disaster, and they do not know where to turn when it comes. They exist by the thousands, but they have male counterparts, although more of the men than of the women have been reached by the unions.

It is from this class that the home worker is recruited and here the most difficult problems of adjustment originate, and, as a matter of course, it is within this group that the greatest amount of exploitation is found. It is here that the home worker belongs who said, with tears running down her face:

> Alla da family worka da whole week for so leetla we moss starve. Alla da week stick da pins in da cards, but more curses dan pins go in da cards!

This does not look like opportunity, and yet, if it could be without exploitation, it does spell opportunity for these women under present conditions. But that "if" is a very large one. Take, for example, Giovanni and Marie Solgano, unskilled factory workers. Granting that even Giovanni is badly paid for his job, Marie is worse paid for hers. Low as all the wages are, even here, in the scale of skill, does sex discrimination reach. Suppose Giovanni and Marie are able to get factory jobs together; suppose they even work side by side at the same job—do their pay envelopes hold the same number of dollars when Saturday comes around? Remarkable if they do! Marie may protest that she is as strong, works as hard, misses no more time: she is a "woman" and "the men will not stand for her being paid as much," or "there are plenty of others who want her job if she doesn't like it." So Marie says no more and goes back to her bench in frightened silence.

Go a little higher in the scale. Take the skilled man and the skilled woman worker. I can think of no better illustration here than a quotation from a recent Women's Bureau bulletin. In the plant in question, the report states:

> A new screw machine was installed . . . and men were assigned to the job on a piecework basis at a certain rate per thousand. After working on the machine a short time the men complained that they were not able to make a decent wage at the rate paid, and the employment manager and works manager decided to try women on it, transferring the men to other work. Women were put on at the same rate, and the employment manager said, "They ran riot with the job and before long were making over $50 a week." Then the men wanted another trial at the job, and as the employment manager does not

[2] For further discussion of the statistics in this paragraph see Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 65, pp. 6–17.

approve of having women in the machine shop and tries to discourage it, the men were given another try-out at a slightly higher rate than the initial one. Again they failed to turn out enough work to earn a satisfactory wage.

Women have been employed on this work ever since (about three years). Rates have been lowered several times since the women have been working on the machines, as it was stated that the work was in an experimental stage when the first rates were set. Machine setters were employed for both men and women. The women now make twenty-five dollars to thirty dollars a week.[3]

EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AS COMPARED WITH EARNINGS OF MEN

Take the testimony of the National Industrial Conference Board, the research organization of the large manufacturing interests. For December, 1927, a representative month, the board quotes the following wage figures for average weekly earnings of all wage earners and of classified groups of labor in some 1,600 establishments in twenty-five manufacturing industries, largely the metal trades, and not including the needle trades:[4]

Actual wage, all wage earners	$26.90
Actual wage, all males	29.35
Actual wage, male unskilled	24.12
Actual wage, male skilled	30.80
Actual wage, all women (skilled and unskilled not separated)	17.34

Here we find the women, including those classed as skilled workers, earning at an appreciably lower actual wage than that of the unskilled men. Figures for a year later, from the same source—for November, 1928, again taken as a sample—show women's average earnings in twenty-five manufacturing industries to be 70.5 per cent of the earnings of unskilled men, and 55 per cent of those of skilled and semi-skilled men.[5]

To these Conference Board figures let us add another compilation of earnings for men and women given us by three separate state departments of labor. Easily comparable months have been selected so that market conditions could be assumed to be practically similar.

In these ratios of female to male earnings we find a remarkable similarity of level—approximately 55 per cent for all industries in each of the three States, although the ratios for the various industries included differ appreciably.

Such fragmentary information, of course, cannot be taken as representative of long-time trends. But we have a further selection from Illinois, whose figures over a five-year period were used as the basis of the chart on page 72.

From this chart we see that male earnings in Illinois started in January, 1924, just below thirty dollars and, with extremely small fluctuations over the five-year period, ended in December, 1928, at slightly above thirty dollars. Female earnings, on the other hand, began in January, 1924, at approximately seventeen dollars, and remained between the fifteen dollar and twenty dollar levels through the entire five years. It will be seen instantly how steady was the divergence between the two groups. The differential, in other words, was practically constant.

Going into another altogether different group of workers—those in the service of the Federal Government—a

[3] United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women*, Bulletin No. 65, 1928, p. 228.

[4] National Industrial Conference Board, *Wages in the United States, 1914–1927*, p. 166.

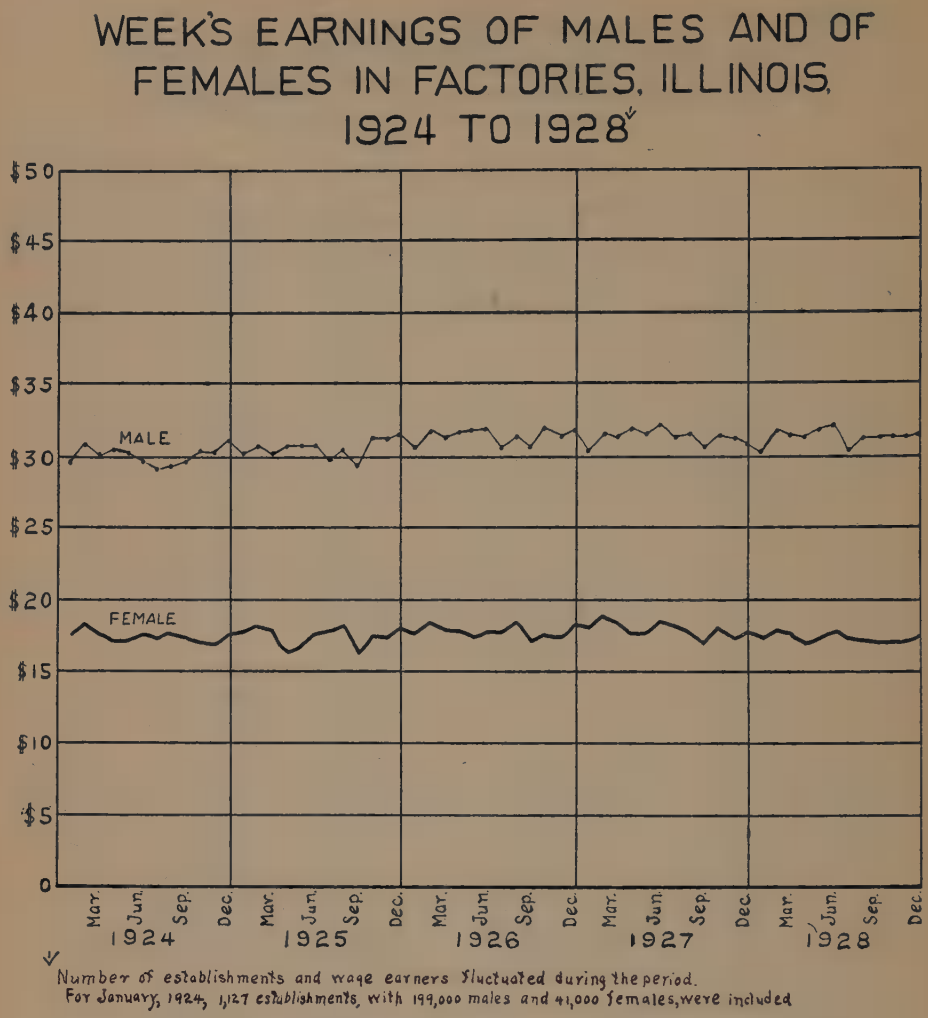
[5] National Industrial Conference Board, *Service Letter on Industrial Relations*, January 25, 1929, p. 2.

TABLE III—AVERAGE ACTUAL EARNINGS PER WEEK OF MALE AND FEMALE FACTORY WORKERS AND RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE EARNINGS

NEW YORK, December, 1928 *

Industry	Earnings per Week		Ratio of Female to Male Earnings
	Male	Female	
All industries	$33.97	$18.89	55.6
Stone, clay, and glass	34.62	17.42	50.3
Metals and machinery	33.95	18.09	53.3
Machinery and electrical apparatus	34.64	18.73	54.1
Wood manufactures	31.42	16.51	52.5
Furs, leather, and rubber	30.56	18.66	61.1
Shoes	26.89	16.96	63.1
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.	33.46	17.94	53.6
Pulp and paper	29.19	15.18	52.0
Printing and paper goods	43.00	18.92	44.0
Paper boxes and tubes	32.66	18.81	57.6
Printing and bookmaking	45.44	20.71	45.6
Textiles	26.82	16.23	60.5
Clothing and millinery	36.69	20.52	55.9
Men's clothing	34.92	17.42	49.9
Women's clothing	46.30	28.05	60.6
Laundering and cleaning	29.45	15.68	53.2
Food and tobacco	31.33	17.30	55.2
Canning and preserving	28.56	14.15	49.5
Candy	29.56	17.36	58.7
Tobacco	28.93	22.34	77.2
ILLINOIS, December, 1928 †			
All manufacturing industries	$31.35	$17.43	55.6
Stone, clay and glass	30.71	14.25	46.4
Metals, machinery and conveyances	31.35	18.37	58.6
Machinery	30.97	15.19	49.0
Electrical apparatus	34.31	21.89	63.8
Watches and jewelry	33.24	17.59	52.9
Wood products	28.03	14.19	50.6
Furs and leather goods	25.40	13.62	53.6
Boots and shoes	23.04	12.79	55.5
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.	29.23	13.57	46.4
Printing and paper goods	39.59	18.61	47.0
Paper boxes	28.02	16.01	57.1
Job printing	41.47	20.31	49.0
Textiles	26.97	13.45	49.9
Clothing and millinery	39.55	19.72	49.9
Men's clothing	40.09	24.56	61.3
Women's clothing	29.82	14.82	49.7
Food, beverages and cigars	29.99	17.77	59.3
Slaughtering and meat packing	28.84	19.37	67.2
Confectionery	30.74	16.87	54.9
Cigars and tobacco	26.44	19.61	74.2
Laundering and cleaning	32.18	15.79	49.1
MASSACHUSETTS, January, 1929 ‡			
All industries	$29.44	$16.45	55.9
Bookbinding	32.13	17.47	54.4
Boots and shoes	25.66	16.04	62.5
Boxes, paper	26.31	13.86	52.7
Confectionery	27.34	15.33	56.1
Cotton goods	20.68	17.16	83.0
Electrical machinery and supplies	33.57	19.57	58.3
Hosiery and knit goods	29.28	17.77	60.7
Printing, book and job	34.81	19.41	55.8
Woolen and worsted goods	25.55	17.16	67.2

* New York, Department of Labor, *Industrial Bulletin*, January, 1929, p. 508.
† Illinois, Department of Labor, *Labor Bulletin*, January–February, 1929, p. 103.
‡ Massachusetts, Department of Labor and Industries, Press release, February 15, 1929, on *Employment and Earnings*.



study made by the Women's Bureau in 1925 showed some interesting facts concerning rates of payment for men and women employees. Government establishments employing approximately three-fourths of the persons in the executive departmental service, or 15,777 women and 15,966 men, were included in the study.[6] Of the slightly more than a third of all employees receiving salaries of $1,860 and over in the departments surveyed, 21 per cent were women and 79 per cent were men.[7] Almost 40 per cent of the women employees and 24 per cent of the men received over $1,860 and under $2,400; only 15.4 per cent of the women, in contrast to 61.5 per cent of the men, were paid as much as $2,400.[8]

[6] Those establishments employing large numbers not included were the War Department, Navy Department, Department of Justice, General Accounting Office, Interstate Commerce Commission, and Smithsonian Institution. See Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 53, *The Status of Women in the Government Service in 1925*, p. 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Why Wage Inequality of Women?

Why are these things true? Why should women receive less for their work than do men? No one answer is sufficient. Too many employers have testified to the effectiveness of women's work for there to be any doubt of their ability. They could not have made their way in the industrial world by the millions as they have done, had their labor not been acceptable. That is insurmountable testimony. But do they prove less stable workers than men? Are they less serious in their attitude toward their work? Are they comparatively less skillful?

Unqualified answers are difficult to make. In the first place, it is not often that men and women, even in the same factory, do exactly the same work; therefore, comparisons are difficult. But we may recall the case cited on an earlier page of this article, the clearest possible illustration of pure sex discrimination in the wage paid, where the men definitely did the job less well than the women.

Some types of work can not be handled by the average woman, although the exceptional woman may perform them without difficulty. Women, too, even when single, in the majority of instances have home duties that take time and thought and effort. Because of this, and for health reasons, they show higher percentages of lates, absences, sick benefits, than do men.

Again, many of the trades employing women in the largest numbers are highly seasonal and others are subject to sudden fashion changes. Work may be plentiful at one time of the year; at another time it may be almost entirely lacking, with a resultant general reduction of earnings. The men, whose largest numbers are in less seasonal trades, do not, as a whole, face such extreme fluctuations.

But allowing all these factors their due weight, which is far less than generally is claimed for them, the fact remains that the woman is nearly always the cheap or marginal worker, and that she is expected by the public and the employer to remain so. Minimum-wage legislation has raised her wage level in the few places where it has been given a fair trial, but it is at present in too chaotic a condition and affects relatively too few persons to be of much assistance.

Women's wage inequality can not be eliminated by the signing of a legislative enactment. The remedy is not so simple. Equality of opportunity and equality of payment for work done can come only a step at a time and through an educated public opinion. Persistence, the continual dripping upon the hard stone, the measured persistence of women who do their work too well to be permanently ignored, and the frank and free discussion of the question at all possible times and in all possible places, will do the job at last. Equality will be in sight when the public says:

> We don't care a bit about the sex of the person who serves us, as long as he or she is the best person to be got for that service, but we do care that whoever is selected shall be paid, as well as chosen, regardless of sex.

What the Wage-Earning Woman Contributes to Family Support

By Agnes L. Peterson
Assistant Director, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

COMPARABLE data on annual earnings of men and women are not available in sufficient quantity to offer a sound basis for definite conclusions on the relative importance of men and women in the economic status of the family, but a number of reports do offer figures on the contribution of women to family support. Moreover, it is possible to estimate, from hourly rates of pay, the total amounts that men regularly employed during the year can earn in certain occupations, and these data, together with information in regard to the purchasing power of the dollar and the cost of living in selected communities, furnish indisputable evidence of the need in many families for wife and daughters to supplement the earnings of husband and father in order to provide the necessities of life, even under conditions well above the lowest economic levels.

There are available census data of the number, age, and occupational distribution of women and the number in gainful employment who had husbands at the time the census was taken, and figures collected by special studies in regard to (1) work problems, (2) family responsibilities, and (3) wages of women and their contribution to family support. Many of the studies in the groups last mentioned furnish data on the number of single women, the number of widows and separated women, and the number of children involved—in some cases the exact composition of the family and the living conditions are reported—and therefore they furnish material not tabulated in the regular census reports. The material collected varies greatly in regard to type of employment, number and ages of the women involved, time of assembling, and geographical location, but in the aggregate it is very much alike as regards purpose and method of study. By and large, it offers conclusive evidence of the fact that women's contribution to family support is considerable. In fact, the data suggest that in many homes in the United States women form the last line of economic defense.

It is true that some of the studies made offer only fragmentary material, but others pertain to a considerable and representative number of individuals and conditions. Therefore, it is significant that each separate study shows practically the same condition and adds information to that already compiled on the importance of woman's share in family support. In addition to showing this importance, the data offer rather conclusive evidence on a closely related aspect that also is of paramount social significance—namely, the great personal sacrifice demanded of women in order that they may make a contribution to the support of their families. If this service to the family were evaluated in relation to the earnings and to the personal need of the woman concerned, it would represent a spirit of devotion that is, to say the least, heroic; if appraised in relation to the cost in human energy demanded of many of these women, it would indicate the need for State and Na-

tional Government to give more serious attention to the problems of employed women than has been given in the past.

Any discussion of woman's contribution to the home that does not include a reference to some of the handicaps that tradition and custom have placed upon her sex fails to offer a fair appraisal of the total contribution to the family made by women. A considerable body of fact offers proof that the work women do, and the service they render industry, home, and community, challenges the practice still obtaining to pay women at a wage standard below that paid to men. As a matter of fact, this practice is in part responsible for the need that compels so many women to carry the double burden of breadwinner and home-maker. The general custom of paying wages on the basis of sex not only is unjust but complicates home problems for women. It is a relic of the dark ages when even many women failed to place an economic value on productive labor done in the home.

Another age-worn theoretical myth, of corresponding vintage and value, has reacted to the disadvantage of women, namely, that which is called chivalry in men and which tradition holds should protect women. The exact contrary is the true situation: That the double standard in wages and the absence of chivalry have resulted in the unscrupulous exploitation of the potential motherhood of the land. The majority of employed women are at a great disadvantage, either because the needs of their families are so great that they do not dare to bargain about a job for fear of losing out altogether or because they are too young and inexperienced to choose or bargain among the jobs available.

THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

From census data may be seen the increase in the number and proportion of men and women in gainful employ-

TABLE I—PROPORTION OF WOMEN AND OF MEN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, 1880 TO 1920 *

Sex and Census Year	Population 10 Years of Age and Over	Persons 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Gainful Occupations	
		Number	Per Cent
Women:			
1880	18,025,627	2,647,157	14.7
1890 †	23,060,900	4,005,532	17.4
1900	28,246,384	5,319,397	18.8
1910	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4
1920	40,449,346	8,549,511	21.1
Men:			
1880	18,735,980	14,744,942	78.7
1890 †	24,352,659	19,312,651	79.3
1900	29,703,440	23,753,836	80.0
1910	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3
1920	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, *Facts About Working Women* (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 4.

† Figures for 1890 are exclusive of persons in Indian Territory and on Indian reservations, areas specially enumerated at that census but for which occupation statistics are not available.

ment during the forty years intervening between the census of 1880 and that of 1920, the increase in the proportion of women in the wage-earning population, and the increase in the employment of married women since 1890. The preceding table indicates that the proportion of men at work was about the same in 1920 as in 1880 but that the proportion of wage earners among women had increased from 14.7 per cent to 21.1 per cent of the woman population.

In addition to the increase in the proportion of all women who were employed, women have almost consistently made headway in their place among all occupied persons. From 1900 to 1910 their advance was so spectacular that they receded slightly in the decade following. By 1920 one wage earner in five was a woman, though in 1880 the number had been nearer one in seven, as is indicated from the table following.

TABLE II—SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, 1880 TO 1920 *

Census Year	Persons 10 Years of Age and Over Gainfully Occupied	Women		Men	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1880	17,392,099	2,647,157	15.2	14,744,942	84.8
1890	23,318,183	4,005,532	17.2	19,312,651	82.8
1900	29,073,233	5,319,397	18.3	23,753,836	81.7
1910	38,167,336	8,075,772	21.2	30,091,564	78.8
1920	41,614,248	8,549,511	20.5	33,064,737	79.5

* Compiled from Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, *Facts About Working Women* (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 4.

The considerable changes in the occupational distribution of women from 1910 to 1920 were in agriculture (largely due to the difference in census date), in domestic and personal service, and in clerical occupations.

The preponderance of young women

TABLE III—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, BY SEX, 1920 *

Age Group	Women		Men	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
10 years and over	8,549,511	100.0	33,064,737	100.0
Under 16 years	346,610	4.1	714,248	2.2
16 to 19 years	1,411,427	16.5	2,547,424	7.7
20 to 24 years	1,809,075	21.2	4,121,392	12.5
25 to 44 years	3,417,373	40.0	15,579,586	47.1
45 to 64 years	1,352,479	15.8	8,552,175	25.9
65 years and over	196,900	2.3	1,492,837	4.5
Age unknown	15,647	.2	57,075	.2

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, *Facts About Working Women* (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 26.

in the economic life of the nation is illustrated by the fact that one in every five of the more than 8,500,000 women in gainful employment in 1920 was less than 20 years of age—a total of 1,758,000, of whom 346,600 were under 16. The significance of this in the light of the importance to the nation of the health and normal development of its young women is apparent.

Table III shows at a glance that the women are massed more generally in the younger and the men more generally in the older groups.

The data for 1920 show in addition that one in every four of the wage-earning women was reported to be married. Since census figures on married women do not include those widowed or divorced, the great increase shown in the proportion of married women in gainful employment since the taking of the census of 1890 has social significance of great importance. There were reported in 1890 something over 515,000 married women in gainful employment, between 4 and 5 per cent of all married women. In 1920, on the other hand, nearly 2,000,000 married women were employed, constituting 9 per cent, or one in eleven, of all the married women of the country.

In addition to the census figures, which show 9 per cent of the married women in the United States to be employed, there are indications of a con-

TABLE IV—MARITAL CONDITION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED WOMEN, 1890 TO 1920 *

Census Year and Marital Condition	Women 15 Years of Age and Over		
	Total Number	Engaged in Gainful Occupations	
		Number	Per Cent
1890			
Aggregate	19,602,178	3,712,144	18.9
Married	11,124,785	515,260	4.6
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown	8,477,393	3,196,884	37.7
1900			
Aggregate	24,249,191	4,997,415	20.6
Married	13,810,057	769,477	5.6
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown	10,439,134	4,227,938	40.5
1910			
Aggregate	30,047,325	7,639,828	25.4
Married	17,684,687	1,890,661	10.7
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown	12,362,638	5,749,167	46.5
1920			
Aggregate	35,177,515	8,346,796	23.7
Married	21,318,933	1,920,281	9.0
Single, widowed, divorced, and unknown	13,858,582	6,426,515	46.4

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 46, *Facts About Working Women* (based on census statistics), 1925, p. 34.

TABLE V—NUMBER AND PER CENT OF MARRIED WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN WOMAN-EMPLOYING MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES, CERTAIN PENNSYLVANIA LOCALITIES, 1900, 1910, AND 1920 *

Census Year	Allentown			South Bethlehem †			Coplay			Northampton ‡			Palmerton §		
	Total Number of Wage Earning Women	Married Women		Total Number of Wage Earning Women	Married Women		Total Number of Wage Earning Women	Married Women		Total Number of Wage Earning Women	Married Women		Total Number of Wage Earning Women	Married Women	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
1900 . . .	1,797	109	6.1	464	7	1.5	12	. .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. .	. .	. . . .
1910 . . .	3,101	420	13.5	1,262	303	24.0	160	56	35.0	378	120	31.7	. .	. .	. . . .
1920 . . .	3,450	1,112	32.2	993	330	33.2	174	92	52.9	493	230	46.7	90	29	32.2

* From published and unpublished data of the Bureau of the Census.

† Incorporated with Bethlehem in 1917. The data in this table from the 1920 census are comparable with the boundaries of South Bethlehem in 1900 and 1910.

‡ Incorporated as Alliance borough in 1902 and its name changed to Northampton in 1909.

§ Incorporated in 1912.

siderable increase in the proportion as well as in the number of married women since the 1920 census. An instance lies in a recent study of women in a rural section of Pennsylvania, made by the Women's Bureau, for which the following census figures on marital condition were prepared. Attention is called to the fact that the term "married" as used in this table conforms with the usual census classification and does not include women who have been divorced or separated. Nevertheless, in each case the proportion of married women who were employed is much higher than that reported by the census for the country as a whole, which was 23.7 per cent.

Census figures of the number of women widowed, divorced, or otherwise separated from husbands are not available. Nor do the census data show the number or proportion of single women among those employed. For this reason the Women's Bureau has made a special effort to gather information on marital status in a number of its studies. The table following presents evidence of the fact that married, widowed, and divorced women form a greater per cent of the total than could possibly be appreciated from seeing only the census tabulations on marital status of employed women. Some of these data will, in addition, serve as a background for material to be presented in a later section of this article.

The data collected by the Women's Bureau indicate that the number of women who are or have been married is so large that it forms 46.7 per cent of the 169,255 involved in all the studies. In ten studies single women form less than 50 per cent of the group, and in three the proportion drops below 35 per cent. This is most remarkable, in view of the fact that one-fifth of all employed women are under twenty years of age and considering that the Women's Bureau studies show the situation usual in woman-employing industries and may be said to be representative of the general situation.[1] Consequently, these data furnish evidence of the extent to which women who are or have been married are in gainful employment and the great need for additional classification of women according to marital status.

Special attention is called to the figures given in the study "The family status of breadwinning women in four selected cities" (*Women's Bureau Bulletin 41*), because these 38,377 women form 38.3 per cent of the woman population fourteen years of age and over in the four cities surveyed—Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., Passaic, N. J., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township, Pa.

When one considers that in 1920 the number of women in the female population who were in gainful employment was 21.1 per cent of the total, a proportion that had increased from 14.7 per cent in 1880, and that in 1920 as many as 9 per cent of all married women were in gainful employment, a figure that had increased from 4.6 per cent in 1890, the significance of the data is more readily understood.

THE INADEQUACY OF MALE WAGES TO COVER COST OF LIVING A CAUSE OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

The inability of a large number of men to earn sufficient to cover the cost of living for the family makes it necessary for many women, in every state of the Union, to seek employment and to share with husband and father in the support of the family.

Undoubtedly it is true that the de-

[1] A possible exception is the study of foreign-born women in industry, in which only 25.9 per cent of the women were single.

TABLE VI—MARITAL CONDITION OF GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED WOMEN (STUDIES BY WOMEN'S BUREAU)

STATE STUDIES

State	Date of Study	Number of Women Reporting on Marital Condition	Number and Per Cent of Women Who Were—					
			Widowed, Separated, or Divorced		Married		Single	
			Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total for seventeen states surveyed	1920 to 1929	105,403	16,501	15.7	26,081	24.7	62,821	59.6
Kansas	1920	5,618	917	16.3	1,262	22.5	3,439	61.2
Rhode Island	1920	2,576	204	7.9	380	14.8	1,992	77.3
Georgia	1920	3,132	661	21.1	911	29.1	1,560	49.8
Maryland	1921	6,571	944	14.4	1,186	18.0	4,441	67.6
Kentucky	1921	5,004	966	19.3	998	19.9	3,040	60.8
South Carolina	1921	3,495	516	14.8	1,241	35.5	1,738	49.7
Arkansas	1922	2,518	627	24.9	637	25.3	1,254	49.8
Alabama	1922	2,649	549	20.7	708	26.7	1,392	52.5
Missouri	1922	9,699	1,569	16.2	1,963	20.2	6,167	63.6
New Jersey	1922	13,082	1,426	10.9	2,860	21.9	8,796	67.2
Ohio	1922	16,222	2,784	17.2	4,613	28.4	8,825	54.4
Oklahoma	1924	2,383	494	20.7	792	33.2	1,097	46.0
Illinois	1924	17,966	2,207	12.3	4,032	22.4	11,727	65.3
Delaware	1924	3,255	411	12.6	1,095	33.6	1,749	53.7
Mississippi	1925	1,028	172	16.7	230	22.4	626	60.9
Tennessee	1925	6,915	1,327	19.2	1,963	28.4	3,625	52.4
Florida	1928–1929	3,290	727	22.1	1,210	36.8	1,353	41.1

SPECIAL STUDIES

Total for eight special studies	1919 to 1928	63,852	13,070	20.5	23,380	36.6	27,402	42.9
The share of wage-earning women in family support	1919 and 1920	3,654	756	20.7	959	26.2	1,939	53.1
Family status of breadwinning women in four selected cities *	1920	38,377	8,118	21.2	12,895	33.6	17,364	45.2
Women in the candy industry in Chicago and St. Louis	1921	1,532	153	10.0	365	23.8	1,014	66.2
Domestic workers and their employment relations	1923	460	77	16.7	137	29.8	246	53.5
Lost time and labor turnover in cotton mills	1923	2,350	309	13.1	939	40.0	1,102	46.9
Women in the fruit-growing and canning industries in the State of Washington	1923	3,014	419	13.9	1,565	51.9	1,030	34.2
Foreign-born women in industry	1924–1925	2,146	364	17.0	1,227	57.2	555	25.9
Conditions for women in laundries	1927–1928	12,319	2,874	23.3	5,293	43.0	4,152	33.7
Grand total, twenty-five studies †	1919 to 1929	169,255	29,571	17.5	49,461	29.2	90,223	53.3

* For Jacksonville, Fla., with 15,712 of the 38,377 women in the four cities, the women were 65 per cent Negroes. For the other studies state and special, practically all the figures are for white women.
† See footnote *.

gree of this need varies according to individual standards of living, based on the custom, experience, or preference of individuals or the practices of a community. However, there are available the findings of authoritative studies of the food, shelter, and clothing necessary for a family of a given size to meet a standard of living below which families in these United States should not be allowed to fall, or to meet the lower standard below which no family can fall without deterioration. In certain lines of work it is impossible for men to earn even the sum required for this lower standard, though employed full time and for the fifty-two weeks of the year. And few laborers or factory workers have employment the year around.

A recent study of the wage earner's cost of living is one made by the National Industrial Conference Board of the "average minimum cost of maintaining a fair American standard of living for the family of an industrial worker, his wife, and two children" in 12 industrial cities in 1927. These costs for the family of four, including no provision for savings, range from $1,442 a year in one of four small cities, Marion, Ohio, to $1,660 in New York City. The figures are summarized in Table VII. A similar standard for the family of five in New York City averaged $1,880 in 1926, according to the Conference Board.

To meet these costs of supporting a family, even at the $1,500 or $1,600 level of the National Industrial Conference Board for the family of four, the wage earner must receive from $29 to $31 a week for the full fifty-two weeks; while to secure the $1,800 required by several studies for a minimum health-and-decency standard of living for five persons he must receive at least $34.50 regularly. What is the actual situation?

TABLE VII—AVERAGE MINIMUM COST OF MAINTAINING A FAIR AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING FOR THE FAMILY OF AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER, HIS WIFE, AND TWO CHILDREN, IN TWELVE INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN 1927 *

Locality	Weekly Cost	Yearly Cost
Large cities:		
Boston	$31.30	$1,627
Cleveland	29.83	1,552
New York	31.92	1,660
Philadelphia	31.31	1,628
Medium-size cities:		
Dayton, Ohio	$28.91	$1,504
Reading, Pa.	31.12	1,618
Springfield, Mass.	30.17	1,569
Syracuse, N. Y.	30.80	1,602
Small cities:		
Butler, Pa.	$27.87	$1,449
Leominster, Mass.	28.05	1,459
Lockport, N. Y.	30.13	1,567
Marion, Ohio	27.73	1,442
States:		
New York	$31.60	$1,643
Pennsylvania	30.22	1,571
Massachusetts	29.84	1,552
Ohio	29.08	1,512

* National Industrial Conference Board. The economic status of the wage earner in New York and other States. New York, 1928, pp. 85 and 90.

The first question, before one can estimate annual earnings, is as to how much time the wage earner loses in a year. It is well known that in few cases can he count on fifty-two full weeks of work. There are, however, no very satisfactory estimates of the average amount of time lost from the various causes, of which illness and slack work are the most important.

In regard to slack work, a number of reports by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the years 1923 to 1925 furnish important data. In fifteen industrial groups, ranging from lumbering and mining to machine shops and motor-vehicle factories, 2,341 es-

tablishments reported the number of days operated and number of week days idle during a twelve-months period. The week days idle were fifteen and under twenty in eight industries, twenty and under forty in three, and forty or more (40, 45, 85, and 125, respectively) in four, the median falling at nineteen days, or slightly more than three working weeks. When to this figure is added the loss due to illness or other unavoidable personal cause, there is abundant justification for taking lost time into consideration in estimates of earning possibilities.

What are the earnings shown by various surveys, and how adequate are they to meet the cost of supporting a family? Table VIII gives data from the most recent study by the National Industrial Conference Board of earnings in twenty-five manufacturing industries in the United States, with comparable figures reported by three States for the same period, the third quarter of 1927. According to the Conference Board the average actual weekly earnings of unskilled men in twenty-five industries were $24.13. Had these men averaged fifty-two weeks of employment they would have earned only $1,255, and in fifty weeks, a more likely amount of work, they would have averaged $1,206. Both these figures are far below the Conference Board's estimate of the cost of maintaining a "fair American standard of living" for the worker with a family of four.

Unskilled laborers, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, averaged forty-nine cents an hour. Even had they worked ten hours a day, six days a week, for fifty weeks, they would have earned only $1,470 in the year. Actually, they averaged 49.2 hours' work weekly, and in fifty weeks could have earned only $1,205. In fifteen of the twenty-five industries, moreover, hourly earnings of unskilled men averaged less than forty-nine

TABLE VIII—AVERAGE EARNINGS OF MALE WAGE EARNERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, THIRD QUARTER OF 1927

Group Reported	Number of Plants Reporting	Total Number of Employees, Both Sexes	Average of Actual Weekly Earnings of Males	Average of Annual Earnings of Males—	
				If Employed 52 Weeks	If Employed 50 Weeks
United States, 25 industries * total	1,600	771,000	$29.59	$1,539	$1,479
Unskilled	.....	.....	24.13	1,255	1,206
Skilled and semi-skilled	.....	.....	31.09	1,617	1,554
New York State, 55 industries †	1,600	470,000	33.25	1,729	1,662
Massachusetts, 39 industries ‡	1,000	230,000	29.12	1,514	1,456
Illinois, 56 industries §	1,100	250,000	31.12	1,618	1,556

* National Industrial Conference Board. *Wages in the United States*, 1914–27. New York, 1928, pp. 18, 30.

† New York. Department of Labor. *Industrial Bulletin*, August–October, 1927.

‡ Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Press releases on *Employment and Earnings*, August–October, 1927.

§ Illinois. Department of Labor. *Labor Bulletin*, August–October, 1927.

cents, ranging as low as twenty-five cents in southern cotton mills, thirty-eight cents in northern cotton mills, and forty-four cents in the boot-and-shoe and the woolen industries.[2] If these men had worked sixty hours a week for fifty-two weeks, their earnings would have been only $780, $1,186, and $1,373, respectively.

For unskilled laborers in general annual earnings are not sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living for a family without the earnings of someone other than the chief wage earner.

Skilled and semiskilled labor fares somewhat better, according to the Conference Board study. This group of men in twenty-five industries averaged hourly earnings of sixty-five cents. With an average of 47.6 hours worked they averaged $31 a week, and with fifty-two weeks of employment they would have earned $1,609, enough to meet the Conference Board's estimate of the cost of living in all but the largest cities. But the wage earner can not count on fifty-two weeks' work, and if he lost only two weeks his annual earnings would drop to $1,547, below the Conference Board's estimate for the family of four in eight of the twelve cities on which it reported and considerably below the $1,800 estimate of other agencies for the family of five.

Moreover, skilled and semiskilled labor in fifteen of the twenty-five industries reported on by the Conference Board earned less than the average, falling as low as thirty-six cents an hour in southern cotton mills, fifty-one cents in northern cotton mills, fifty-five cents in the boot-and-shoe industry, and fifty-six cents in meat packing—to give only a few examples.[3] If the men in these industries had worked sixty hours a week for fifty weeks they would have averaged $1,080, $1,530, $1,650, and $1,680, respectively. In some industries skilled and semiskilled labor had average earnings larger than these, but it is evident that in many industries the men's earnings are inadequate to maintain their families on a reasonable health-and-decency level.

Three States that report monthly on the earnings of men and women wage earners, in manufacturing industries, show a similar situation. The figures include the unskilled as well as the skilled, and young workers as well as the men with families, and they are so low as to leave no doubt that many adult male wage earners have earnings too low to maintain their families at a reasonable minimum standard of living, on their earnings alone.

In the bureau's study of Manchester, N. H.,[4] the husband's earnings were reported in the case of 113 working wives. Only thirty-one husbands (27.4 per cent) earned as much as $1,500; twenty-two (19.5 per cent) earned less than $1,000.

In a recent and as yet unpublished study of foreign-born women in Pennsylvania, the husband's earnings were reported in the case of 458 working wives. Only 108 husbands (23.6 per cent) earned as much as $30 a week—$1,500 for fifty weeks' work; eighty-three (18.1 per cent) earned less than $20 a week—$1,000 for fifty weeks' work. Interviews brought out the women's dread of sickness and unemployment. A woman cigar-maker was supporting her family, consisting of a husband and two young children, because in six months the husband had had only three or four days' work. In another family, with three children,

[2] National Industrial Conference Board. *Wages in the United States*, 1914–27. New York, 1928, pp. 29, 37, and 106–156.

[3] *Idem.*

[4] See Part I of Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support.*

the husband had been laid up for five months because of an injury. His compensation was $12.50 a week. The family lived in one room and used a neighbor's kitchen. The mother, it is hardly necessary to state, was employed.

The data regarding the earnings of the chief male bread-winner in these families of foreign-born women, as secured by interviews in 456 cases, correspond to the reports published by other authorities. The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, using actual pay-roll figures for one week, shows that wages in the State of Pennsylvania for one week in September, 1925, averaged $26.19 for wage earners employed in the manufacture of metal products, an industry including automobiles, engines, blast furnaces, rolling mills, etc. In other man-employing industries the average weekly wage was not very different. In furniture plants it was $23.75, in leather tanneries $24.15, and in building materials $28.15. These were the industries in which many of the men of the families interviewed were employed.

In the face of these facts, and of the risk of illness and unemployment, is it to be wondered at that large numbers of women, both married and single, find it necessary to contribute regularly to the support of their families?

Economic Responsibility of Women, Married and Single

The economic position of women appears to have been affected to a greater degree and more generally than has that of men by the striking changes made during the past few decades in the production and handling of the business of the nation. Whereas the new conditions have brought greater freedom of self-expression and action to large numbers of women, they have brought to others new economic problems that are heavy and complex. In fact, some of the problems that must be shouldered by women challenge our present social order.

It may be said that the new order of things has changed the actual status of women in the home materially. While sickness, death, and desertion always have brought heavy economic responsibilities to many women, and while from the beginning it has been necessary for some women to take the place of husbands and fathers, the new order probably has aggravated the situation for women in regard to those family problems that are due to the incapacity or loss of the male bread-winner, since in the old days it was more common for the dependent family to be supported by relatives than for the mother to seek regular employment away from home. From the beginning of time wives and daughters have made a contribution to the home equal to, though differing from, the contribution made by wage-earning husbands and fathers; frequently the services rendered by the women in the home have exceeded in actual money value the contribution of the men.

One of the greatest differences between the old and the new order for wage-earning women lies in the fact that in many cases marriage fails to bring to women the economic security considered formerly to be one of its chief advantages. Nowadays, marriage may bring new financial responsibilities for wife as well as for husband. Since able and deserving men in large numbers can not earn sufficient for the needs of a family, a money contribution from the woman, as well as from the man, is a necessity. Consequently, there is this great difference from conditions a generation or so ago: That a large proportion of the families living in cities depend largely upon the earn-

ings of women, and that in many homes the entire income is earned by wife or daughters.

Some of the data collected on women's share in family support suggest that sons do not assume equal responsibility with daughters toward the parental home. Whether this is because daughters assume responsibilities more willingly than do sons toward dependents to which the younger generation falls heir, or whether it is almost wholly a matter of no choice, the daughters being at home and the sons not, cannot be said.

It may be considered common knowledge that sons do not forego marriage and careers, to anything like the extent that daughters remain at home because of the needs of parents or younger sisters and brothers. From the Women's Bureau report on Manchester, N. H.,[5] it is possible to compare the contributions of sons and of daughters. This is done in Table IX.

TABLE IX—CONTRIBUTIONS OF SONS AND OF DAUGHTERS, MANCHESTER, N. H.*

	Daughters	Sons
Total number reporting	307	289
Contributing 50 per cent or more of their earnings:		
Number	232	176
Per cent	75.6	60.9
Contributing all their earnings:		
Number	184	100
Per cent	59.9	34.6
Per cent contributing all their earnings, by age group:		
16 and under 18 years	76.8	59.4
18 and under 20 years	66.2	38.9
20 and under 25 years	51.3	25.6
25 and under 30 years	46.3	13.2
30 and under 40 years	64.0	13.6
40 and under 50 years	66.7	50.0
50 years and over	100.0	....

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*, 1923, pp. 60, 97, and 98.

Data combined from twenty studies of the share of women in family support show that over 50 per cent of the women contributed to the family all their earnings. The bulletin in which these figures appear[6] and a study of the Women's Bureau pertaining to the marital status of breadwinning women[7] are two outstanding contributions to the material on the subject of women's responsibilities and can not be overlooked in an article that relates to this subject.

In its report on the share of wage-earning women in family support the bureau has assembled considerable material on women's contribution to the home. These data and some others on the same subject are shown in Table X.

Of 31,481 women in four cities reporting for the census of 1920 the number of breadwinners in the family, 27.1 per cent stated that the breadwinners were women only, 21 per cent reporting themselves as sole contributor. Correlating these figures with the marital condition of the women, it is not surprising that 82.8 per cent of those widowed or divorced should have been without male assistance in the support of the family, but that 11.2 per cent of the women reported as married and 20.8 per cent of the single women also had no male help is remarkable. The married women thus burdened were those deserted or having husbands incapacitated or idle. The single women would appear to illustrate

[5] See Part I of Women's Bureau Bulletin 30.

[6] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*, Bul. 30, 1923.

[7] U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. *Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities* (a study of census figures), Bul. 41, 1925.

TABLE X—WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FAMILY AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS AGENCIES *

Type of women Studied	Date of study	Number of women reporting on contributions	Women who contributed to their families— All their earnings		Part of their earnings		Nothing	
			Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total for 20 studies †	1888 to 1921	58,639	30,795	52.5	22,690	38.7	5,154	8.8
Women in stores and in manufacturing other than textiles in 22 cities: At home	1888	13,722	8,754	63.8	4,267	31.1	701	5.1
Women factory employees in four cities in Illinois: At home	1906	2,094	1,547	73.9	545	26.0	2	.1
Women in hotels and restaurants in seven cities: Total	1907–1909	308	75	24.4	67	21.8	166	53.9
At home	....	116	75	64.7	27	23.3	14	12.1
Adrift	....	192	.....	....	40	20.8	152	79.2
Women in stores and factories in seven cities: Total	1907–1909	5,854	3,436	58.7	1,328	22.7	1,090	18.6
At home	....	4,580	3,436	75.0	1,043	22.8	101	2.2
Adrift	...	1,274	.....	....	285	22.4	989	77.6
Single women in the men's ready-made clothing industry in five cities: At home	1907–1909	1,987	1,742	87.7	245	12.3	.....	....
Women in industry in Milwaukee, Wis.: At home	1911	1,078	875	81.2	197	18.3	6	.6
Italian women in industry in New York City: At home	1911–1913	945	758	80.2	174	18.4	13	1.4
Women in candy factories in Massachusetts	‡1912	836	656	78.5	170	20.3	10	1.2
Women in laundries in Massachusetts	‡1912	748	448	59.9	293	39.2	7	.9
Women in retail stores in Massachusetts	‡1912	2,276	1,404	61.7	796	35.0	76	3.3
Women in stores in Boston, Mass.	1913–1914	1,156	462	40.0	521	45.1	§173	15.0
Women in stores in Philadelphia, Pa.: Total	1913–1914	362	52	14.4	174	48.1	136	37.5
At home	....	181	52	28.7	116	64.1	13	7.2
Adrift	....	181	.....	....	58	32.0	123	68.0
Single women in industry in Wisconsin: At home	1913–1914	13,686	5,278	38.6	8,114	59.3	294	2.1
Girls under 16 in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: At home	1914	302	250	82.8	45	14.9	7	2.3
Women in industry in Michigan: At home	1914	5,929	2,458	41.5	2,750	46.4	721	12.2
Women munition workers in Bridgeport, Conn.: At home	1916	97	49	50.5	48	49.5	.....	....
Women in an electrical plant in Lynn, Mass.	1918	98	32	32.7	46	46.9	20	20.4
Women in an electrical plant in Schenectady, N. Y.	1918	100	36	36.0	42	42.0	‖ 22	22.0
Women in industry in Kansas	1920	5,620	2,102	37.4	1,973	35.1	1,545	27.5
Women in industry in Wisconsin: At home	1921	1,441	381	26.4	895	62.1	165	11.5
The family responsibilities of men and women wage earners in Manchester, N. H. (Women's Bureau survey)	1920	527	302	57.3	167	31.7	58	11.0
Women in the fruit-growing and canning industries in the State of Washington (Women's Bureau survey)	1923	2,513	1,698	67.6	298	11.9	517	20.6
Grand total for 22 studies	1888 to 1923	61,679	32,795	53.2	23,155	37.5	5,729	9.3

* In different order, and with slight changes, taken from Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, *The Share of Wage-Earning Women in Family Support*, 1923, p. 131. At the foot are added two Women's Bureau studies.

† Sources of information: U. S. Bureau of Labor, Fourth annual report, 1888; Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fourteenth biennial report, 1906; U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, 1910–12 (three studies); Consumers' League of Wisconsin, *Women's Wages in Milwaukee*, 1911; Russell Sage Foundation, *Italian Women in Industry*, 1919; Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards, Report, 1912 (three studies); U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Unemployment Among Women in Department and Other Retail Stores of Boston*, 1916; Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, *Monthly Bulletin*, January, 1915; Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in Wisconsin*, 1916; National Consumers' League and National Child Labor Committee, *Survey of Wage-Earning Girls Below 16 Years of Age in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania*, 1915; Michigan Commission of Inquiry on Minimum Wage Legislation for Women, *Report . . . into Wages and the Conditions of Labor for Women, etc.*, 1915; Russell Sage Foundation, *Women as Munition Workers*, 1917; National War Labor Board, *Cost of Living in Lynn, Mass.*, 1918 (unpublished), and *Cost of Living in Schenectady, New York*, 1918 (unpublished); U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women's Wages in Kansas*, 1921; and Wisconsin Industrial Commission, *Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in Wisconsin*, 1921 (unpublished).

‡ Date of publication of report. § Twenty-seven of these were living adrift. ‖ Adrift.

TABLE XI—FAMILY STATUS AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES OF BREADWINNING WOMEN, BY MARITAL STATUS—FOUR CITIES,* 1920

Family Status	Women Breadwinners		Number Reporting as to Number of Breadwinners in Family	Women Who Were Sole Breadwinners		Women Who Were One of Two Breadwinners				Women Who Were One of Three or More Breadwinners			
								Having Men Breadwinners				Having Men Breadwinners	
	Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent of 2 Breadwinners Group	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent of 3 or more Breadwinners Group
All classes	38,377	.....	31,481	6,622	21.0	15,504	49.2	14,113	91.0	9,355	29.7	8,830	94.4
Single													
All classes	17,364	100.0	11,473	1,056	9.2	3,203	27.9	2,280	71.2	7,214	62.9	6,801	94.3
Living with parent or parents	10,418	60.0	10,418	503	4.8	2,893	27.8	2,168	74.9	7,022	67.4	6,646	94.6
Maintaining home	1,055	6.1	1,055	553	52.4	310	29.4	112	36.1	192	18.2	155	80.7
Living with relatives	1,413	8.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....
Boarding or lodging	2,834	16.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....
Other	1,644	9.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	.....
Married													
All classes	14,934	100.0	14,551	1,547	10.6	11,352	78.0	11,289	99.4	1,652	11.4	1,633	98.8
Average number of children in family	.....	.....	.....	0.6	.....	1.2	....	.....	.....	3.1	....	.....	.....
Husband a breadwinner	12,705	85.1	12,705	.....	.....	11,159	87.8	11,159	100.0	1,546	12.2	1,546	100.0
Husband not a breadwinner	190	1.3	190	85	44.7	52	27.4	38	73.1	53	27.9	44	83.0
Husband not living at home	2,039	13.7	1,656	1,462	88.3	141	8.5	92	65.2	53	3.2	43	81.1
Maintaining home	782	5.2	782	622	79.5	115	14.7	75	65.2	45	5.8	36	80.0
Living with relatives †	491	3.3	464	434	93.5	22	4.7	13	59.1	8	1.7	7	87.5
Boarding or lodging	595	4.0	409	405	99.0	4	1.0	4	100.0	...	....	.....	.....
Other	171	1.1	1	1	100.0	.....	....	.....	.....	...	....	.....	.....
Widowed and divorced													
All classes	6,079	100.0	5,457	4,019	73.6	949	17.4	544	57.3	489	9.0	396	81.0
Average number of children in family	.....	.....	.....	0.7	.....	1.8	.....	....	....	3.1	....	...	.....
Maintaining home	3,946	64.9	3,946	2,626	66.5	844	21.4	492	58.3	476	12.1	384	80.7
Living with relatives †	925	15.2	810	737	91.0	65	8.0	31	47.7	8	1.0	7	87.5
Boarding or lodging	834	13.7	569	537	94.4	29	5.1	16	55.2	3	.5	3	100.0
Other	374	6.2	132	119	90.2	11	8.3	5	45.5	2	1.5	2	100.0

* Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., Passaic, N. J., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Township, Pa. From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41, *The Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities* (a study of census data).

† Includes those living with parents.

TABLE XII—NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN BREADWINNING FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY—THREE CITIES, 1920 *

Size of Immediate Family	Total	Families Having Specified Number of Wage Earners												
		One Woman Wage Earner	Two Wage Earners			Three Wage Earners			Four Wage Earners			Five or More Wage Earners		
			Total	Both Women	Woman and Man	Total	Three Women	Women and Men	Total	Four Women	Women and Men	Total	Five or More Women	Women and Men
Total	20,559	2,331	11,655	1,334	10,321	3,560	316	3,244	1,930	73	1,857	† 1,083	12	1,071
Per cent distribution:														
Number of wage earners	100.0	11.3	56.7	....	....	17.3	...	....	9.4	..	....	5.3	...	....
Sex of wage earners	....	....	100.0	11.4	88.6	100.0	8.9	91.1	100.0	3.8	96.2	100.0	1.1	98.9
Two members	6,814	1,387	5,427	742	4,685	....	...	....	....	..	....	....	...	....
Three members	4,053	531	2,739	330	2,409	783	129	654	....	..	....	....	...	....
Four members	3,086	228	1,570	132	1,438	1,013	78	935	275	20	255	....	...	....
Five members	2,245	106	858	51	807	704	62	642	502	24	478	75	...	75
Six members	1,642	42	528	50	478	387	25	362	430	12	418	255	5	250
Seven members	1,148	23	291	15	276	287	14	273	296	9	287	251	...	251
Eight members	654	7	139	12	127	188	2	186	167	..	167	153	6	147
Nine or more members	917	7	103	2	101	198	6	192	260	8	252	349	1	348

* Butte, Mont., Jacksonville, Fla., and Wilkes-Barre and Hanover Townships, Pa. From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.
† Of this number nearly 300 families had six or more wage earners.

the thesis regarding the responsibilities assumed by daughters and sisters, since one in five were without the assistance of father or brothers and one in eleven were the sole breadwinners in their families. Table XI gives in detail the data upon which the foregoing statements are based.

For three of the four cities under discussion, the number and sex of the wage earners were tabulated according to size of family. Of the 20,559 families reported upon, one in five had no male breadwinner and one in nine was supported by a woman alone. About 60 per cent of the 2,331 families having only a woman breadwinner consisted of two persons, but almost a fourth had three persons and a number had seven to nine, or more. There were 262 cases of a family of four or more persons being supported by two women. The size of the family and the number of men and women breadwinners are shown in Table XII.

Extremely important factors in the consideration of the woman wage earner are those of the number of children involved and of whether the mother worked at home or outside the home. The following table furnishes a complete picture of these factors. From this it will be seen that almost two-fifths of the women who worked outside the home had children under five years of age.

TABLE XIII—BREADWINNING MOTHERS HAVING CHILDREN OF SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS AT HOME, IN SCHOOL, OR AT WORK—FOUR CITIES, 1920 *

Class	Women Reporting Number of Children		Women Working Outside the Home		Women Working in Own Home	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per Cent
Total women having children	11,060	100.0	4,274	100.0	6,786	100.0
Women having children under 5	4,466	40.4	1,641	38.4	2,825	41.6
Women having children 5 and 6:						
At home	1,561	14.1	660	15.4	901	13.3
In school	1,134	10.3	462	10.8	672	9.9
Women having children 7 and under 14:						
At home	361	3.3	145	3.4	216	3.2
In school	5,247	47.4	2,265	53.0	2,982	43.9
Women having children 14 and under 18:						
At home	274	2.5	97	2.3	177	2.6
In school	1,686	15.2	742	17.4	944	13.9
At work	1,266	11.4	651	15.2	615	9.1
Women having children 18 and over:						
At home	420	3.8	183	4.3	237	3.5
In school	221	2.0	91	2.1	130	1.9
At work	2,263	20.5	871	20.4	1,392	20.5

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.

The number of children tabulated in relation to the mother's marital status, as separated, widowed or divorced, or having a husband who was not employed, is the subject of the table following. One in five of the women without a husband's earnings had children under five. And for one-half

TABLE XIV—BREADWINNING MOTHERS HAVING CHILDREN OF SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS AT HOME, IN SCHOOL, OR AT WORK, BY MARITAL STATUS OF MOTHER —FOUR CITIES, 1920 *

Class	Women Reporting Marital Status and Number of Children		Women who were—									
			Married, Husband a Breadwinner		Married, Husband Not a Breadwinner		Married, Husband Not Living With Family		Widowed		Divorced	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total women having children	11,055	100.0	7,459	100.0	113	100.0	742	100.0	2,560	100.0	181	100.0
Women having children under 5	4,465	40.4	3,710	49.7	20	17.7	246	33.2	447	17.5	42	23.2
Women having children 5 and 6:												
At home	1,560	14.1	1,255	16.8	9	8.0	80	10.8	196	7.7	20	11.0
In school	1,134	10.3	900	12.1	7	6.2	51	6.9	167	6.5	9	5.0
Women having children 7 and under 14:												
At home	361	3.3	246	3.3	4	3.5	27	3.6	71	2.8	13	7.2
In school	5,244	47.4	3,676	49.3	44	38.9	329	44.3	1,098	42.9	97	53.6
Women having children 14 and under 18:												
At home	274	2.5	170	2.3	4	3.5	21	2.8	74	2.9	5	2.8
In school	1,686	15.2	1,071	14.4	28	24.8	95	12.8	464	18.1	28	15.5
At work	1,266	11.4	695	9.3	18	15.9	93	12.5	436	17.0	24	13.3
Women having children 18 and over:												
At home	420	3.8	218	2.9	14	12.4	20	2.7	162	6.3	6	3.3
In school	221	2.0	154	2.1	3	2.7	8	1.1	51	2.0	5	2.8
At work	2,262	20.5	1,162	15.6	51	45.1	134	18.1	883	34.5	32	17.7

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 41.

TABLE XV—WOMEN WHO HAD TOTAL "DEPENDENTS" AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS AGENCIES *

Type of Women Studied	Date of Study	Total Number of Women Included	Number and Per Cent of Women Who Had Total Dependents	
			Number	Per Cent of Total
Total for eight studies †	1912–1921	16,964	2,301	13.6
Women teachers in Massachusetts	1921	190	54	28.4
Women in industry in Kansas	1920	4,326	266	6.1
Women street-car conductors in Detroit	1919–1920	47	22	46.8
Women in an electrical plant in Schenectady	1918	100	[illegible]	9.0
Women in one division of Library of Congress	1917	23	13	56.5
Wage-earning women and girls in Connecticut	1915–1916	8,722	1,676	19.2
Women in stores in Boston	1913–1914	1,156	29	2.5
Women in stores in Kansas City	1912	2,400	232	9.7

* From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, p. 127.

† Sources of information: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, *Old-Age Support of Women Teachers*, Provisions for Old Age Made by Women Teachers in the Public Schools of Massachusetts, 1921; U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women's Wages in Kansas*, 1921; U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Women Street-Car Conductors and Ticket Agents*, 1921; National War Labor Board, Cost of Living in Schenectady, New York, 1918 (unpublished); U. S. Congress, 65th Cong. 2d Sess., 1917–18, *Statement of Librarian of Congress on Appropriations;* Connecticut Bureau of Labor, *Report on the Conditions of Wage-Earning Women and Girls*, 1916; U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Unemployment Among Women in Department and Other Retail Stores of Boston*, 1916; Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, Fourth annual report, 1913.

of those whose husbands were at work, children of tender age complicated the home conditions for the employed mothers.

The Women's Bureau has made studies of the family responsibilities of women employed in the canning industry in the States of Delaware and Washington. The figures show that of 733 women reporting in Delaware, 9.5 per cent were the chief wage earners in the family,[8] and of 2,591 reporting in Washington, 5.7 per cent were the sole wage earners in the family and another 6.8 per cent had no male wage earner.[9] In the latter study, of the 2,513 women who reported the extent of their contributions to the family, 67.6 per cent contributed all their earnings.

In Delaware industries other than canneries and restaurants, the data for which are tabulated separately, 31.5 per cent of the families were maintained primarily by the earnings of the women in the group. In almost one-fourth of the families the worker scheduled was the principal breadwinner.[10]

Ordinarily, women with total dependents form no considerable proportion of the total, the more common condition being one of joint contribution, but there are, nevertheless, large numbers of such women. In a study of the type of dependents of some

[8] From Women's Bureau Bulletin 62, *Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware*, 1927, p. 108.

[9] From Women's Bureau Bulletin 47, *Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington*, 1926, p. 11.

[10] From Women's Bureau Bulletin 58, *Women in Delaware Industries*, 1927, p. 108.

TABLE XVI—WOMEN CONTRIBUTING TO "DEPENDENTS" AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS AGENCIES*

Type of Women Studied	Date of Study	Number of Women Who Reported on Dependents	Women Who Contributed to "Dependents" (Type Not Specified)	
			Number	Per Cent
Total for seven studies	1920–1927	13,188	2,856	21.7
Single women wage earners under 35 years of age in Cincinnati	1927	† 368		
At home		214		‡ 82
Adrift		73		‡ 20
In organized homes		81		‡ 14
Employed women, chiefly single, in Toledo	1926–1927	95	29	30.5
Teachers in Minneapolis	1926	† 530	137	25.8
Single		446	102	22.9
Married		84	35	41.7
Women earning $18 or less in Arkansas	1924	59	24	40.7
Wage earners in Oregon	1922–1924	11,438	1,971	17.2
Industrial home-workers in Wisconsin	1921	194	176	90.7
Women in the manufacture of druggists' preparations in Massachusetts	1920	504	319	63.3

* Sources of information: Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, *Wage-earning Girls in Cincinnati*, 1927; Information Bureau on Women's Work (Toledo), *The Floating World*, 1927; Meeker, Royal, *Study of Costs and Standards of Living of Minneapolis Teachers in Relation to Their Salaries*, 1926; Arkansas Bureau of Labor and Statistics, *Wage-Earning Women*, 1924; Oregon Bureau of Labor, Eleventh biennial report, 1924; National Consumers' League, *State Minimum-Wage Laws in Practice*, 1924; Massachusetts Department of Labor, *Wages of Women Employed in the Manufacture of Druggists' Preparations, Proprietary Medicines, and Chemical Compounds in Massachusetts in 1920*, 1923.

‡ In this case per cents only were reported.

† Total number of women reporting in the study.

1,800 women, made by the Women's Bureau in 1919, one in three of the 751 single women reported the mother to be dependent, and one in seven of the 490 married women reported a dependent husband.[11] Table XV, also from the study of the share of wage-earning women in family support, shows that one in seven of the women included in eight studies incorporated in that report were supporting total dependents.

A number of other studies, generally of a later period, report the extent to which women contribute to the support of persons they consider to be "dependent," though this term is not defined. Of seven surveys, covering more than 13,000 women,[12] 21.7 per cent of the women were contributing to the maintenance of dependents, as is shown in Table XVI.

From other reports similar testimony may be gathered. For example, of 74,000 Rochester women reported by the census of 1920 as married, widowed, or divorced, 28 per cent were gainfully occupied.[13] Even in the 59,000 cases

[11] From Women's Bureau Bulletin 30, p. 128.

[12] Nearly nine-tenths were in one study.

[13] U. S. Bureau of the Census. *The Woman Home Maker in the City*, 1923.

where the husband lived with the family, almost 9 per cent of the wives were employed away from home; and of 2,300 cases where the husband was absent, 48 per cent of the wives had outside employment. In about 4,300 families the wife or widow was the only breadwinner.

In a study of 843 working mothers with dependent children in Chicago [14] 68 per cent of the families had no support from the father. In less than 20 per cent of the cases was the father a regular contributor.

And all this leaves out of consideration the woman's contribution in the way of labor in the home—the eternal cooking, dishwashing, scrubbing, laundering—and her care of those who are dependent upon her not alone for material things but for the wisdom and patience which, though essential in dealing with the very young and the very old, are so difficult to maintain by the woman who works for long hours away from home.

[14] U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. *Children of Wage-Earning Mothers*, 1922.

In many instances, the efforts of women to provide for the family are far more heroic than are some of the things officially recognized as heroism. Because of love of family and good citizenship, many women must shoulder economic burdens caused by conditions that should not be permitted to exist. The stamina and the courage required to face the responsibilities shouldered by many women would carry them far if opportunity would open up for them. Society must awaken to the fact that the double standard in wages is an unfair discrimination and must recognize that in matters of employment opportunities and equal wages women find chivalry a myth. Since, as has frequently been demonstrated in history, a nation can be only as strong as its women, there is great need of concern about an economic organization that forces upon women burdens that menace their health and welfare, great need of an effort to mitigate the practices that tend to handicap and exploit women, and great need of a broad and thorough study of these problems by the State and National Governments.

Ohio's Women Workers

By Amy G. Maher
Director, Information Bureau on Women's Work, Toledo, Ohio

HOW definite a picture is it possible to construct of the working women in one state in the Union? Just how much do we actually know about the women in the industries of Ohio? A study made by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor tells of hours and wages; the Ohio Division of Labor Statistics has gathered data on wage rates and the number employed; the United States Census Report for 1920 gives information on age and nationality; and various other studies, by privately supported organizations, round out the picture. In this article are assembled the facts about women industrial workers in Ohio.

The Ohio Labor Law

The school law of Ohio provides that every child who is not mentally deficient shall be in school until he is 16 years of age, and has completed the seventh grade. In order to go to work, the child must obtain a certificate showing that the above requirement has been met, and that a physical examination has been passed, and, until the age of 18, the child is not permitted to work more than 48 hours a week, is prohibited from night work, and protected from work which is physically or morally dangerous. Between the ages of 16 and 18, if the municipality provides a continuation school, the boy or girl is required to attend four hours a week. After 18, the hours for women workers are limited to 50 hours a week, and there are still occupations prohibited to women. This labor law is enforced by nine women factory inspectors, employed by the state, and the attendance officers attached to the Public School Administration.

Nationality and Age

Over one-half (59 per cent) of the women workers in Ohio are children of white parents who were themselves born in this country; one-fourth are native-born white, whose parents were immigrants; 9 per cent are foreign born; and 5 per cent are colored.

The percentage of young people is larger among women workers than among the men. This is because the women marry, and, in a large number of cases, leave industry for house-keeping and bringing up children. In 1920, in Ohio, 7.2 per cent of the women in industry were under 18 years of age; 17.9 per cent were under 20; 40 per cent were under 25 years, whereas only 20 per cent of the men were under 25.

Do They Work After Marriage?

Nearly one-fifth of Ohio women workers in 1920 were married, and the other four-fifths included those who were single, widowed, or divorced. Married women are going into industry in greater numbers all the time; in 1890, only 1.8 per cent of the married women in the state were gainfully employed; in 1900, 2.5 per cent; in 1910, 5.4 per cent; and in 1920, 6.2 per cent.

Occupations

In 1920, 18.3 per cent of the women in Ohio, over 15 years of age, were gainfully employed, and two out of every ten workers in Ohio were women. The largest group of women workers was in

manufacturing, practically one-fourth of those employed, and another group, almost as large, was in domestic and personal service. Over one-fifth were in clerical occupations; 12.5 per cent were in professional service as teachers, trained nurses, doctors, lawyers, librarians; one-tenth were in trade; 3.2 per cent were in transportation, including telegraph and telephone operators; and 2.5 per cent were in agriculture. Chart No. 1, on this page, shows the distribution of the gainfully employed women in Ohio among the various occupational groups.

In 1927, the average number of women employed in Ohio, as reported to the Division of Labor Statistics, was 272,231. Of these, 60.4 per cent were wage earners; 27.86 per cent, bookkeepers, stenographers or office clerks; 11.74 per cent, saleswomen (not traveling). In this same year, 17.36 per cent of the total number of wage earners in Ohio reported to the Division of Labor Statistics were women; 50.28 per cent of the clerical workers were women; 43.59 per cent of the salespeople; and of the total group of workers reported to the Division, 23.24 per cent were women.

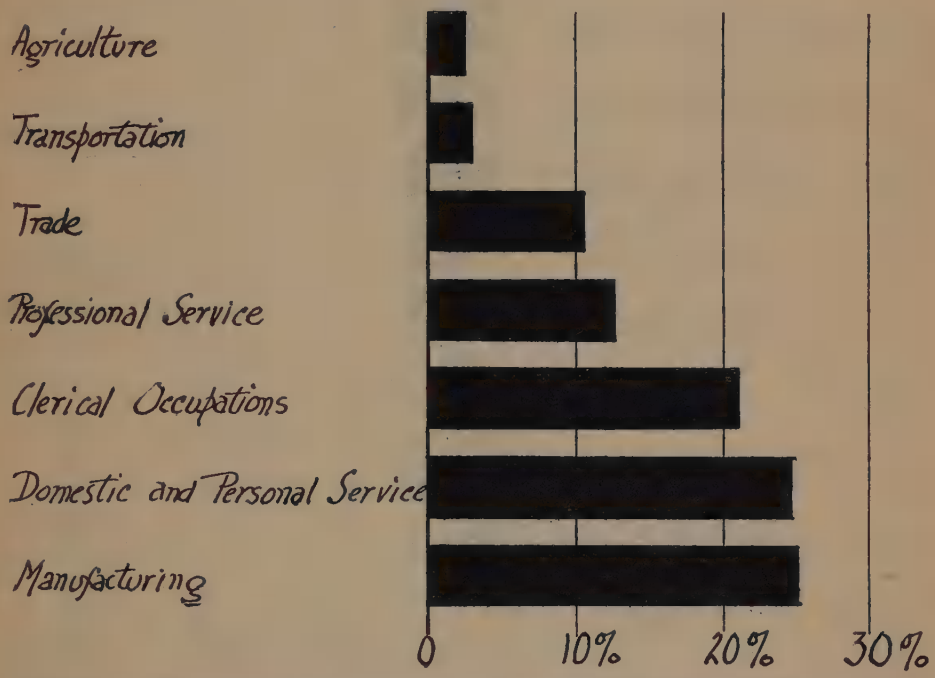


CHART NO. 1—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN IN OHIO, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, AS REPORTED IN THE UNITED STATES CENSUS REPORT FOR 1920

The largest women's group in the manufacturing industries is that in the textile division, which includes men's and women's clothing, hosiery, and knit goods. In 1927, this branch of manufacturing employed an average of over 28,000 women, more than one-fourth of the women in Ohio factories. Almost one-tenth were employed making rubber products. Chart No. 2 shows the distribution of the women workers among the various branches of manufacturing in Ohio.

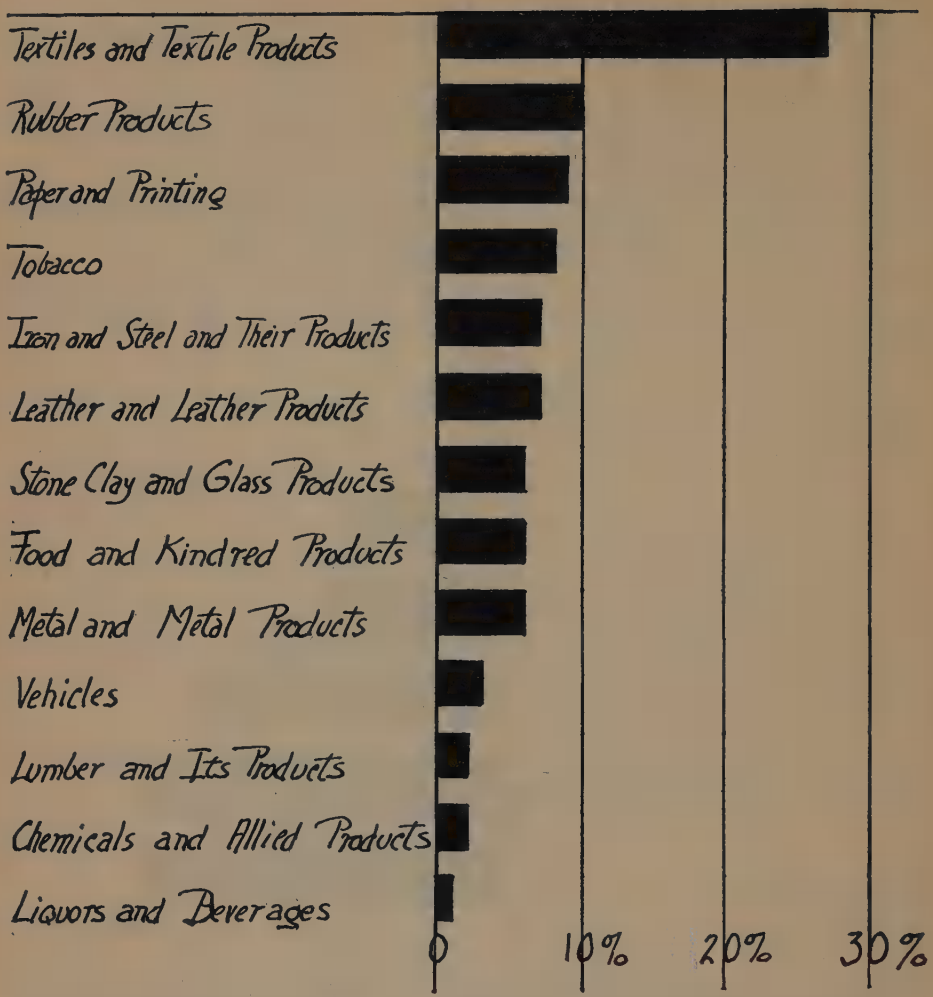


CHART NO. 2—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN VARIOUS BRANCHES OF MANUFACTURING, IN 1927, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS

THE TREND IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN OHIO

The average number of women employed in Ohio increased from 126,481 in 1914 to 272,231 in 1927, as is shown in the accompanying table.

The significance of this increase from 1914 to 1927, in the employment of women in Ohio, is shown more plainly, if the numbers employed are reduced to percentages of the average for the whole period. The table on page 97

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED ON THE FIFTEENTH OF EACH MONTH, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS

(Includes wage earners, clerical workers, and salespeople)

1914	126,481	1921	195,180
1915	140,251	1922	No record
1916	164,009	1923	234,250
1917	182,902	1924	238,226
1918	213,155	1925	250,473
1919	220,081	1926	263,903
1920	235,045	1927	272,231

shows the indices of employment of Ohio women workers to have increased from 60.09 in 1914 to 129.34 in 1927, an increase of 69.25 points during the fourteen years. Chart No. 3, on this page, shows the trend of employment of women in Ohio in graphic form.

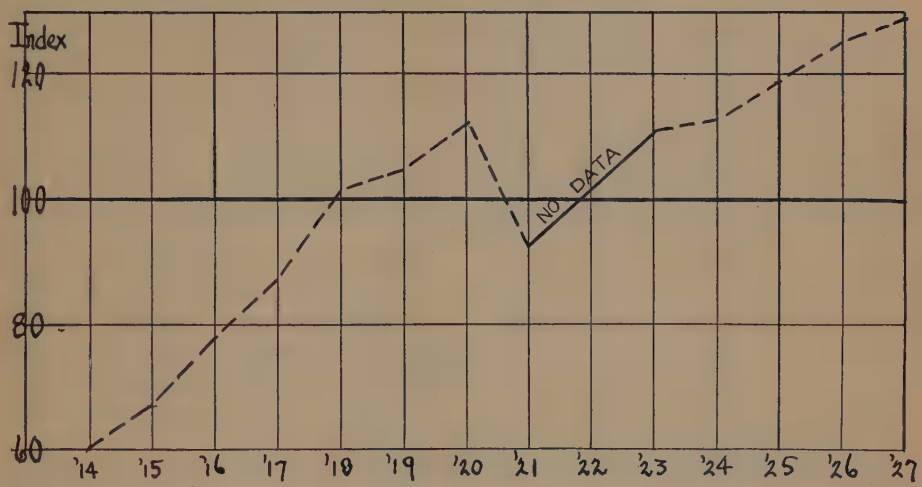


CHART NO. 3—INDICES OF EMPLOYMENT OF OHIO WOMEN WORKERS, 1914–27, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS
(Monthly Average, 1914–27, = 100)

INDICES OF EMPLOYMENT OF OHIO WOMEN WORKERS, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1914–1927
(Average month, 1914–1927 = 100)

1914	60.09	1921	92.73
1915	66.64	1922	No record
1916	77.92	1923	111.30
1917	86.90	1924	113.18
1918	101.27	1925	119.00
1919	104.56	1926	125.38
1920	111.67	1927	129.34

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In eleven cities in the state, branches of the State-City Free Employment Service assist the workers of Ohio who are looking for work, and the employers of Ohio who are looking for workers, to find each other. In the year 1928, 126,273 applications were made by women workers, as compared with 88,784 requests for women workers. Of the 76,518 places filled by this service, 2,817 were clerical positions; 11,806 were for domestic and personal service; 5,502 were in hotels and restaurants, and 52,638 were for work by the day.

HOURS OF WORK

The United States Women's Bureau made a study of women employed in Ohio in September, 1922. All the women making men's or women's clothing were found to be working a week of 48 hours or less. On the other hand, only 1.7 per cent of those making hosiery and knit goods had so short a week, and only 10 per cent of those employed in the tobacco and cigar industries, 13 per cent of those making gloves or woolen goods, and 15 per cent of those making shoes, or paper products, were employed 48 hours or less per week. The day of eight hours or less was practically universal in the general mercantile stores, and factories making men's suits and coats; but a

very small percentage of workers in advertising had so short a day, or those making shoes, tobacco, paper and paper products, electrical products, gloves, or food products, or working in laundries.

FULL-TIME WORK

It is the consensus of opinion that the improved condition of the workers during the war was due to steady work quite as much as, if not more than, the high money earnings. One of the most dreaded spectres that confronts the worker is unemployment. The Women's Bureau has studied the percentage of women workers in various states who were found to have had full-time work. In Ohio, in 1922, four-fifths of the workers in general mercantile stores had full-time work. Only about three-fourths of those making men's shirts, and the workers in five-and-ten-cent stores, and about one-half of those making bakery products, men's clothing, electrical products, shoes, cordage and twine, and cigars, had full-time work in 1922. The poorest employment record was among rubber workers, metal workers, and candy makers.

Some cities in Ohio offer steadier work than do others. Cincinnati gives more stable employment than Cleveland, for example. The other cities ranked on the basis of employment stability are: Dayton, Canton, Columbus, Toledo, Youngstown, and Akron. Chart No. 4 shows the fluctuation of employment in the whole group of men and women, from 1914 through 1925. It is significant to note that since the middle of 1918 the relative increase of women workers in Ohio has been greater than that of men, whereas during the war periods, the relative increase in the number of women employed was less than the relative increase of men.

WAGE RATES OF WOMEN IN OHIO

If we could stand all the persons in any group in a row, arranged according to the amount of their wages, and then pick the middle person, and ask what her wage was, that wage would be the "median wage" for that group; that is, one-half of the group receive more, and one-half receive less than that amount. The Ohio Division of Labor Statistics collects information on wage rates, which include bonuses and commissions, and an allowance for board and room if these are provided the worker. In 1927, this median rate for women wage earners in Ohio was

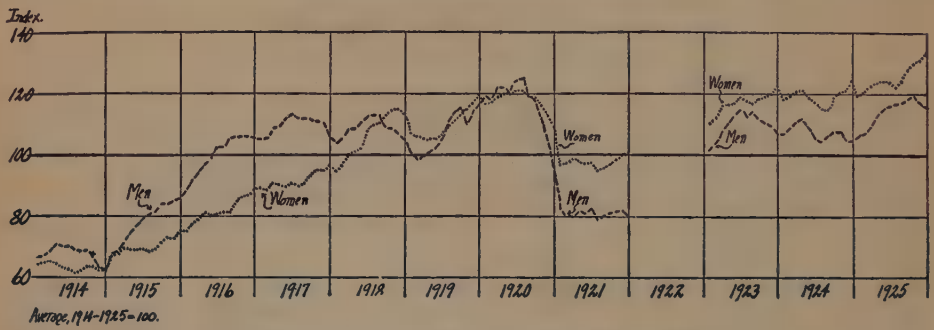


CHART NO. 4—INDEX OF EMPLOYMENT OF ALL OHIO MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS
(Monthly Average, 1914–25, = 100)

$16.07 per week; for women clerical workers, $22.28; for saleswomen, $15.55; and for the whole group of women workers reported to the Division, $17.41. The corresponding rates for men were $30.65, $38.20, $32.76, and $31.16. The women's rate, in the wage-earner group, was only 52.43 per cent of the men's rate; for clerical workers, 58.32 per cent; for saleswomen, 47.47 per cent; and the median rate for the total group of women was 55.87 per cent of the median rate for the total group of men. The women's rate, therefore, is seen to fluctuate around one-half of the men's rate, and they compete most successfully with men in the clerical field.

The money rate for women wage earners, from 1914 through 1927, increased by 113.4 per cent; for women clerical workers, by 111.8 per cent; for saleswomen, by 103.5 per cent; and for the total group of women, by 120.9 per cent. But all the time wages were increasing, the cost of living was climbing also, and the real test of an adequate wage is not the number of dollars in the pay envelope, but the relation of those dollars to the changing cost of living. If we take the cost of living into account, the improvement from

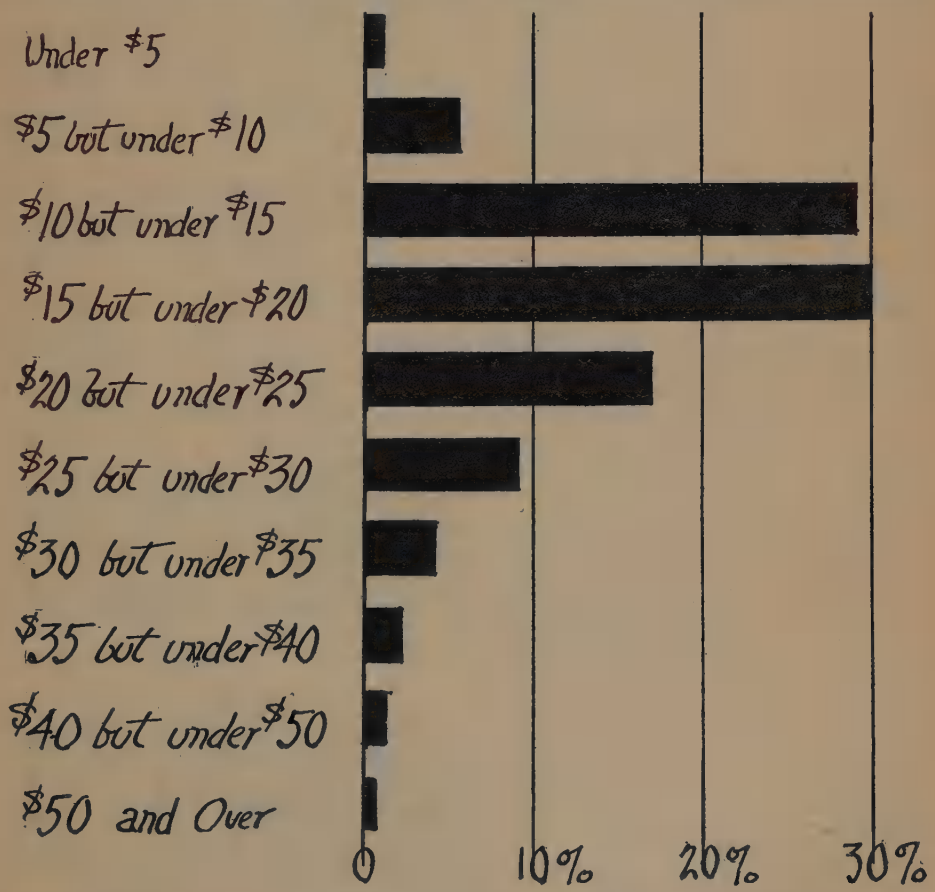


CHART NO. 5—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OHIO WOMEN WORKERS IN WAGE RATE GROUPS, IN 1927, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS

1914 through 1927 is seen to be much more modest: for women wage earners, it becomes 27.2 per cent; for clerical workers, 26.3 per cent; for saleswomen, 21.3 per cent; and for all the women workers, 31.7 per cent.

In the men's clothing industry, the women's median rate, in 1927, was $19.23—an improvement of 125.97 per cent over 1914, or 34.78 per cent in real or deflated rates. In the women's clothing industry, the women's median rate was $17.54, or 98.42 per cent higher than in 1914, or an 18.33 per cent improvement in real rates. In hosiery and knit goods, the median was $16.25—105.18 per cent higher than in 1914, and an improvement of 22.35 per cent in real rates.

This median rate, however, obscures some important facts about wages: it does not tell whether all the rates cluster rather closely above and below the median, or whether there is a wide spread between the highest and lowest rate. The following table, and Chart No. 5, on page 99 show how the women workers of Ohio fall into the various wage rate groups. It will be seen that over three-quarters of the women workers are receiving rates of from $10 to $25; with almost one-third in the group receiving from $15 to $20; and over one-fourth from $10 to $15. Over 35 per cent of the women, or a total of 108,057, were receiving less than $15 a week.

DISTRIBUTION OF OHIO WOMEN WORKERS IN WAGE RATE GROUPS, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1927

	Number	Per Cent of Total
Under $5	2,986	1.0
$5 but under $10	16,530	5.4
$10 but under $15	88,541	29.0
$15 but under $20	92,417	30.3
$20 but under $25	52,521	17.2
$25 but under $30	27,996	9.2
$30 but under $35	13,036	4.3
$35 but under $40	5,665	1.9
$40 but under $50	3,506	1.1
$50 and over	1,867	.6

This table, however, includes the clerical workers, whose rates are higher than those of the wage earners and the saleswomen. The figures for the wage earners are given in the table below. It will be seen that 66.7 per cent of the wage-earning women receive between $10 and $20 per week. Over one-tenth of the women wage earners are in the group receiving rates between $10 and $12 per week, and one-fourth of them are paid at the rate of between $12 and $15, almost one-fifth, or a total of 34,898, receive $12 or less per week and 81,790, or 43.2 per cent, are paid at the rate of $15 or less.

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN OHIO IN WAGE RATE GROUPS, AS REPORTED TO THE OHIO DIVISION OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1927

	Number	Per Cent of Total
Under $5	2,260	1.2
$5 but under $10	12,985	6.9
$10 but under $15	66,545	35.1
$15 but under $20	59,803	31.6
$20 but under $25	28,284	14.9
$25 but under $30	11,429	6.0
$30 but under $35	4,288	2.3
$35 but under $40	1,862	1.0
$40 but under $50	1,075	.6
$50 and over	698	.4

EARNINGS OF OHIO WOMEN

After all, one's standard of living is determined not by rates, but by earnings, by the actual cash in the pay envelope. The Women's Bureau studied the weekly earnings of Ohio's women workers, in 1922, and found that $13.80 was the median for the whole group. This, of course, differed widely for

different industries, as will be seen from the following table:

	Weekly Earnings	Annual Earnings
Advertising and other novelties	$12.15	$619
Auto tops and other canvas products	14.70	773
Candy	10.65	556
Shirts and overalls	15.05	808
Men's suits and coats	19.60	972
Women's suits and coats	19.35	974
Electrical products	16.60	798
Food products	11.60	647
Glass and glass products	12.10	604
Gloves	11.25	560
Metal products	12.40	681
Paper and paper products	12.60	685
Pottery	13.05	719
Rubber and rubber products	17.25	810
Shoes	15.55	875
Cordage	10.35	...
Hosiery and knit goods	12.70	714
Woolen goods	15.15	730
Tobacco and cigars	13.35	590
General mercantile	14.05	801
5-and-10-cent stores	10.55	613
Laundries	12.25	641

The Bureau also secured data on yearly earnings for 4,336 women who had worked 52 weeks in the year. The median yearly earnings for this group were found to be $726, or an average of $13.96 per week. Again, there was great divergence in the various industries, as the above table shows.

COST OF LIVING

Studies of the cost of living are usually efforts to find, for a family of five, or for a woman or man living alone, a minimum requirement for a standard of living which shall conserve "health and frugal decency." As there is no objective measure, personal opinion is bound to enter into these estimates. Various minimum wage boards have computed the amount necessary for a single woman. The Ohio Council on Women in Industry made a study, in 1922, which showed that the minimum was somewhere between $15 for the smaller communities and $20 for the large cities. The Council's very conservative estimate for such a budget was as follows:

Board and lodging	$5.50
Clothing	4.50
Laundry	.75
Car fares	1.00
Doctor and dentist	.38
Church	.13
Newspapers and magazines	.12
Vacation	.37
Recreation	1.50
Savings for reserve	1.50
Incidentals	.75
Organization dues or benefit associations	.13
Insurance	.37
Self-improvement	.25
Total	$17.25

The Council, at the same time, made a study of the actual expenditures of industrial women in various parts of the state, and found that any budget of $15 or less inevitably necessitated serious deprivations. Of those trying to make ends meet on $15 or less,

12 per cent omitted any sum for recreation.
17 per cent omitted any sum for doctor or dentist.
20 per cent omitted any sum for newspapers or magazines.
24 per cent omitted any sum for car fare.
27 per cent omitted any sum for vacation.
32 per cent omitted any sum for savings.
39 per cent omitted any sum for laundry.
43 per cent omitted any sum for organization dues.
54 per cent omitted any sum for self-improvement.
Only 10 per cent omitted any amount for church contributions.

ACCIDENTS

The United States Women's Bureau has analyzed the accidents to Ohio women workers, for the year July 1,

1919 to June 30, 1920, as these were reported to the workmen's compensation department. Accidents which disable the worker for one week or less are not reported to the Commission, so all of the accidents studied were rather severe. In these twelve months, 1,545 women were injured and reported to the Commission, and six of these were killed; 372 received injuries which are permanent, and will handicap them throughout life. Severe cuts accounted for 481 of the injuries; bruising and crushing, for 431; strains and sprains, for 188; fractures, for 138; amputations, 107. Many injuries, which are originally slight, become very serious through infection; this was true of 467 cases.

More than one-half of the accidents were caused by machinery; one-fifth, by falling. Here, there was a distinction based on age, as more younger women were hurt by machinery; more older women, by tripping or slipping, and falling. At least 871 of these injured women returned to work, but the younger woman is able to do so more often than the older woman.

Housing

In 1926–1927, the Information Bureau on Women's Work made two studies, in Toledo, of housing for single women working away from home. One of these was based on interviews with landladies, and the other with industrial women. Two-thirds of these women found their room by inquiries among their friends. They were a population which shifted very rapidly, nearly one-half having lived at their present address for six months or less. Dissatisfaction with surroundings, and the hope of finding something more convenient or more pleasing, drove them to constant change. Their first choice seems to be a private home; next, a rooming house; then a housekeeping apartment; then, in order, the organized home, the boarding house, and finally, the hotel. Three-quarters of them took care of their rooms. For the employed woman, hurrying off to work in the morning, waiting for the bathroom is a serious loss of valuable time, and yet in over 40 per cent of the cases the bath was used by seven or more persons. In 29.3 per cent of the cases, the "roomer" was not permitted to use the laundry; and in 20 per cent, she was not allowed to use the "parlor" to entertain callers.

The interviews with landladies showed great divergence in types, and all sorts of houses, attractive, neat, or questionable, mixed in together, in the same district. The landladies preferred men to women boarders, the most frequent reasons given being the problem of women's entertaining company, and the fact that women wish to wash and iron. Moreover, the conscientious type of landlady has a feeling of responsibility toward her girls and women, and none for the men and boys.

Organization

Comparatively few of the women workers of Ohio are in trade unions. The garment workers, musicians, pottery workers, railway clerks, cigar makers, cooks and waitresses, printers, make up the scattered list. Now and then a woman is permitted to act as attendance secretary in a city central union, but, by and large, except in the garment trades, their organized strength is negligible.

Conclusion

Perhaps it may not be inopportune, at the close of this article which presents only actual facts concerning Ohio's women workers, to venture far enough into the field of opinion to enumerate some of the outstanding bare spots in the Ohio Labor Law, places

where a further improvement of standards seems to be needed. If there is accepted an hypothesis that the American standard of living should be a constantly rising one, and that conditions for workers in the country should improve as rapidly as business conditions and scientific research and invention permit, what are the forward steps which legislation in Ohio should take?

In the field of education, as a preparation for life and work, the most obvious lack is that it is left to the municipal boards of education to decide whether or not they shall provide continuation schools for the certificated group between 16 and 18. Because of the importance of the child's contact with the educational system during the transition from school to work, the establishment of these schools should be made obligatory for cities over a certain size.

In the main body of the labor law for women of 18 years and over, the restriction of daily and weekly hours should be extended to cover women in hotels, perhaps the most glaring omission at present. It is probably self-evident from the data on rates and earnings quoted above, that a minimum wage law is needed to do away with depressed wages, insufficient to maintain a minimum standard of living. It is also time that the hour law follow up the practice of the great number of industries in the state, and reduce the day to eight hours, and the week to 48 or 44.

The workmen's compensation law of Ohio is one of the best in the country. It removes from the worker part of the burden of financial loss from accidents. However, there are three other fields in which the hazards should be distributed over the whole of industry, instead of falling upon the individual worker: unemployment, sickness, and old age. Insurance against these risks would go very far to remove some of the constant fears that burden the great wage-earning population of the state.

An improvement of insignificant cost, but major importance, would be the yearly publication of the invaluable data collected by the Division of Labor Statistics, so that the citizens could have an accurate picture of industrial trends; and another important requisite is the improvement of enforcement machinery, both in size of personnel, and in educational equipment insisted upon by the state. It goes without saying that the more successfully these bureaus are removed from the constant turn-over of political patronage, the more efficient and disinterested will be the service which they will render to the public.

The Trend in Women's Wages

By Nelle Swartz
Director, Bureau of Women in Industry, New York State Department of Labor

PROBABLY the one element in our modern industrial world which occupies the position of central interest is wages. "How much do you pay?" "What is a fair day's wage?" These two questions are put by the workers on the one hand and by employers on the other. The controversy over wages seems endless and the differences often seem unsurmountable. As a matter of fact, a technique has never been worked out which would help in determining the wage-worth of any particular individual. Is the president of a certain railroad worth a hundred thousand dollars a year to that railroad? What determines the twenty-five thousand dollar fee to a lawyer? And so on down the scale until we may well ask what determines the wage of an unskilled woman working in a paper box factory.

The standard which determines wages for the most part in industry today is that employers pay the going market rate. This is the theory which squares with the so-called fundamental law of supply and demand. If large groups of workers are knocking at the gate of the factory for work, wages are reduced. If it is difficult to secure workers, their price goes up. There are, however, two other points which are being considered by employers in increasingly large numbers in the determination of wages. The one is to pay a little more than the usual market rate in order to secure from the worker a greater interest and create an incentive for work, and the other is to pay in relation to such factors as length of service, the cost of living, the profits of the business.

Reasons for the Low Wage of Women in Industry

From the beginning of time the wages of women have been lower than the wages of men. One of the reasons for this is that the vast resource of women's labor has not begun to be tapped; women are being drawn into industry in increasingly large numbers each year but the supply of women workers is still greater than the demand. A second reason for their low wage is that women themselves too often regard their work as merely temporary, that is, they work to bridge over the gap between school and college or matrimony. They are quite unwilling to take time to acquire skill and training and to assume much responsibility on their job. Another reason is that all employed women have to battle against the centuries-old prejudice against women who work. All employed women have always been discriminated against, just because they are women. Very slowly and gradually these prejudices and customs are being broken down and women are coming into their own because they come to their work better equipped and are making good. That men, professional and otherwise, are often jealous of the intrusion of women into their profession or trade is a well-known fact, but women, young and unskilled in industry, face a very different problem from their professional sisters. Not exclusion, as is the case with professional women, but exploitation is their trouble. And it is because of the exploiting of women that laws regulating the hours and wages of women have

been enacted in many of the states of the country.

One can scarcely go into any factory but that a foreman points with pride to one woman whose quality and quantity of work is superior to any one in the plant. And yet upon inquiry it will be found usually that her wages are often 25 per cent lower than the man who sits next to her at the work bench. A few months ago an employer in the state of New York applied for a variation from the labor law to allow women to work at a certain process which they were forbidden by law to do. He had used men at the work for the past twenty years. Upon visiting this plant to study the conditions under which the women would be employed, the question was asked of the employer why it was that he wished to lay off these men after twenty years and replace them with women. He quite frankly stated that women were available who could do the work with as great skill and with as high a production rate as the men and that he could secure them for 33⅓ per cent less a week than he was paying the men. The question may quite justly be asked by employers, if we can get skill and production from women and get it cheaper than from men, why not?

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND WOMEN'S WAGES

One of the elements which has contributed largely to the increase of men's wages over the last ten years has been the trade union movement. The trade union movement has played a very large part in raising the wages of not only union men but of all workingmen. This is true also of women but to a much more limited extent. In New York state, only 12 per cent of the women gainfully employed are organized but the trade union movement has been a great factor in bringing about higher wage rates for all women. However, it must be said that some trade union men, like professional men, resent the intrusion of women into their trades and in some trade unions there is as much discrimination against women as there is among less liberal groups. The reason for this is that men are fearful lest women shall undercut them and sell their labor cheap. Trade union men quite honestly are often afraid to have women enter their trades because of their lack of experience in bargaining power. And so today women continue to be found at the lowest rung of the wage ladder.

EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN IN NEW YORK STATE

The earnings of women, however, are on the increase as shown over a ten-year period. From a study by the New York State Factory Investigating Committee in 1913,[1] the median earnings for women in four industries, namely, paper box, shirts and collars, candy and tobacco, were $6.25. In 1918 the median weekly earnings for this same group were $11.75,[2] and in 1923 they were $15.25.[3] In the mercantile industry the rise in median weekly earnings throughout the state was from $7.25 in 1913, to $11.75 in 1918, to $16.25 in 1923. However, in New York State in 1923 more than one-fourth of the women in these four factory industries, and almost one-fifth of the women in the mercantile industry earned less than $12 a week. Approximately half the women, 57 per cent in the four industries and 49

[1] Factory Investigating Commission, Fourth Report, 1914.

[2] New York State Department of Labor, Special Bulletin No. 92, *Weekly Earnings of Women in Five Industries.*

[3] New York State Department of Labor, Special Bulletin No. 121, *Hours and Earnings of Women in Five Industries.*

per cent in the mercantile establishments, earned less than $16.00 a week. Only 7 per cent of women in factories and 13 per cent of the women in mercantile establishments earned $25 a week or more.

The increase in women's earning capacity in New York State has been due to her increased efficiency brought about through better working conditions and shorter hours. The tremendous development of machinery has played a large part, for new machinery is directly favorable to the employment of women. More efficient management, with its wider use of scientific methods, waste elimination and greater use of capital has increased earnings of all workers.

Another factor in women's increased earnings is that New York State has been constantly raising the age at which children may go to work so that children in this state are not undercutting and underselling women's labor. New York State has learned, at tremendous cost, the waste both human and economic involved in the employment of children. It has learned the waste both human and economic involved in the untrained worker. By raising the legal age at which children may go to work and providing for the education of children who enter industry, the state has tended to raise the whole standard of employment of adults.

Comparative figures of men's and women's wages are best shown in a study in the paper box industry in New York City[4] which utilizes both men's and women's labor. Wage rates of less than $12 were found for none of the men but for 3 per cent of the women. In this same industry rates were less than $25 for 25 per cent of the men but for 77 per cent of the women. On the other hand, $30 or over was the rate for 60 per cent of the men, but for only 4 per cent of the women. Nine per cent of the men in this industry had rates of over $50 a week but no women had rates that high. Many of these men and women were engaged on the same processes. As for example, the median weekly earnings for women operating corner staying machines in this industry were $21.13 a week while the median week's earnings of men operating corner staying machines were $36.50 a week. The median weekly earnings for men finishers were $35.50 while the median weekly earnings for women finishers were $17.38. But, for the most part, in this industry the skilled work was done by men, and the women were doing the semi- and unskilled work.

Yearly earnings tell practically the same story. For men the median yearly earnings in this industry were $1,758 and for women $916. Only 16 per cent of the men, but 83 per cent of the women earned less than $1,200 a year; 12 per cent of the men and no women made $2,500 and over. In comparing the men and women working on the same jobs it is found that the median yearly earnings of women operating corner staying machines were $1,000 while the median yearly earnings of men operating corner staying machines were $1,858. Even a comparison of the rates of union men and union women in this same industry shows a difference. For example, no union men workers had rates less than $16 a week while 6 per cent of the women union workers had rates less than $16. Three per cent of men union workers had rates of less than $20 while 34 per cent of the women had less than this amount. No women union workers had rates of $40 a week and over, while 35 per cent of the men

[4] New York State Department of Labor, Special Bulletin No. 154, *The Paper Box Industry in New York City.*

union workers had rates of this amount. These conditions do not hold, of course, in all unions. In the typographical union, for example, men and women work side by side receiving the same pay and under the same conditions.

A comparison of men's and women's average weekly earnings in November, 1928, in representative New York State factories [5] including shop workers only and omitting office employees follows:

Industry	Average Weekly Earnings	
	Men	Women
Stone, clay and glass...	$34.16	$17.50
Metals and machinery..	33.31	18.05
Wood manufactures...	31.26	16.92
Furs, leather and rubber goods.....	32.10	18.85
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.....	33.15	18.17
Pulp and paper.....	29.02	15.32
Printing and paper goods.....	42.22	18.88
Textiles.....	26.66	15.96
Clothing and millinery..	35.74	20.16
Food and tobacco.....	31.68	16.70

The average weekly earnings for all women were $18.63, and for all men, $33.60. Thus the average weekly earnings of men in representative New York State factories are almost twice as much as that of women.

A comparison of women's and men's rates of pay in offices shows practically the same differences are as found in factories. Among bookkeepers for example the beginning rates for men range from $18 to $20 a week and for women from $15 to $18 per week. With head bookkeepers, the man's wage is from $40 to $50 a week and for women $30 to $40. The wage of men clerks often goes as high as $60 a week, while with women $35 a week is the usual maximum. Expert men stenographers get from $40 to $60 a week while expert women stenographers get from $30 to $40 a week.

[5] New York State Department of Labor, *The Industrial Bulletin*, December, 1928.

MARRIED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

In the development of industry today there are several problems arising which may further complicate the wage problem of women. One is the tremendous increase in the employment of married women coupled with the rapid development of part-time employment.

Married women are entering industry in increasingly large numbers. A certain proportion of these women work because their family financial conditions are not satisfactory. Their contribution to the family budget is necessary to meet emergencies such as illness and unemployment. A large proportion are forced to work to meet the ordinary running expenses of their household. Another group of married women work from personal preference for work outside the home; to some of these it means an escape of the daily drudgery and the routine of housework, to others it means the desire to be economically independent of their husbands. The kind of work which married women do differs little or not at all from that of their unmarried sisters, but the fact that many of them are anxious for part-time employment means that in some localities work is being adjusted so that this force of labor supply can be utilized. With part-time employment, of course, comes lower earnings.

In the city of Binghamton a survey was made in 1926 by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor which gives fresh data on the absorption of married women into industrial life.

Almost half (48 per cent) of all the women studied in Binghamton were married. In 1920, 32 per cent of all the employed women in Binghamton were married. These figures are indicative of the rapid rate at which married women are being absorbed into industry. What effect, if any, the influx of this large group of women will have on the working standards of other women remains to be seen.

THE PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The development of part-time work, however, is one which has been met with open arms by both employers and workers. Many employers have learned that the same amount of business can be done with a lower labor cost by the part-time employment of some of their workers. One of the largest department stores in New York City has a third of the workers on its pay rolls on part time. The bulk of the patrons of this store shop between 11 A.M. and 4 P.M. so that their heavy peak is during these hours. Saleswomen are employed from four to five hours a day and their earnings are consequently lower than the full-time workers. Tea rooms and restaurants offer part-time employment to cover the rush hours over the lunch and dinner period. Even in manufacturing, some employers do not open their factories until noon on Monday so that married women in their employ may have the opportunity to be able to do their laundry before coming to work, and for similar reasons the factories are closed all day Saturday.

The continued presence of women in industry after marriage necessitates a new attitude toward wage-earning women. They are not temporary workers nor does marriage put an end to their industrial experience. When women clearly recognize this the principal obstacle to their solidarity will be removed, for it is this lack of solidarity among women themselves that has done more than any one thing to keep them on the lower rung of the wage ladder.

Labor Turnover of Working Women

By Marguerite B. Benson

Director, Woman's Bureau, National Association of Manufacturers, New York City

IN the inevitable flux of human existence may be found, in part, the cause of labor turnover. In poor management and unsatisfactory surroundings may be found the immediate, and, fortunately, removable causes. Economically and socially speaking, those natural forces which operate toward group efficiency, or the progress of individuals, cause a turnover which should be regarded as an asset to society. Turnover affecting either men or women is not an unmixed evil since adjustments are necessary to progress. While excessive labor turnover is costly to industry and socially undesirable, it is only by a modicum of turnover that individuals can find the work to which they are best suited and by which management may correct its own errors. Such shifts in employment are looked upon today as beneficial, as is evidenced in a recent book by a thoroughgoing student of labor problems who devotes a chapter to the advantages of labor turnover.[1]

This study is concerned with the causes and effects of turnover among women workers which can be studied and which are subject to scientific control. It must be kept in mind that the picture is a constantly shifting one owing to the increasing complexity of modern industrialized society and the evolutionary changes which are taking place in the economic status of women themselves.

That the maladjustments causing turnover are not peculiar to industrial groups is evidenced by an investigation of its own personnel by the Young Women's Christian Association. So extensive was the difficulty that a noted expert in personnel was engaged to study what was termed "the heavy turnover among all groups of Association workers, particularly among the most professional groups."[2] Labor turnover has been felt even in academic circles, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science published, in 1917, an article dealing with causes of turnover among college faculties.

It is only within two decades that working women have seemed important enough to warrant detailed statistical classification. It is only within one decade that labor turnover has been a subject for serious research. We should not, therefore, be surprised, although greatly handicapped, when we find that there are so few studies to guide us in measuring the turnover among women workers as compared with men.

With only a few exceptions, the literature on labor turnover either disregards women or includes them under the general heading of labor. While the causes, effects and cures are virtually the same for both sexes, there are certain social and economic phases of the employment of women which demand special study. Since an adequate supply of women is usually at hand for the seasonal industries and, generally speaking, in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, the cost of replacing an unskilled worker is less than where long training is necessary. Cor-

[1] Bezanson, Anne, *Earnings and Working Opportunities in the Upholstery Weaver's Trade*, Vol. I, Industrial Research Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

[2] *The Woman's Press*, January, 1928.

respondingly the stability and morale of the working force where women predominate has seemed less important from the standpoint of cost to management. While we know that the "pin money" theory has been exploded and that the majority of women workers contribute to the family budget, we have not yet progressed (or retrogressed, as some would prefer it) to the point where women are looked upon as the providers. Society, therefore, regards their leaving work or being laid off with less seriousness than when the same thing happens to men.

Large numbers of women are employed in the seasonal industries which in turn must meet the demands of society for clothing in fashion and varying with seasonal changes; for the conservation of foods which nature sees fit to ripen at one season of the year. Christmas brings a peak demand for toys, candy and novelties; winter, one type of sporting goods; summer, another. All these fluctuations in production and distribution are reflected in the turnover rate and in the cost to industry, society, and the worker.

Some of the questions immediately presenting themselves are: Is turnover greater among women than among men? If markedly higher, why? Are the causes clearly definable as economic, social, industrial, or physiological? How do women compare with men in general stability? How do married women compare with single women in turnover rate and general stability?

TURNOVER AND ITS CAUSES

Labor turnover is described by Bloomfield as "the leakage or waste of man power in terms of shifts in the working force." More specifically, Slichter calls turnover "all terminations of employment in the force regardless of cause."

Under scientific management all terminations of employment are classified as "voluntary quits," "discharges," or "lay-offs." The first term is self-explanatory, and will be dealt with further on. The second represents the separations for inefficiency, insubordination, and the like. The third represents discharges due to slack work, temporary shut-down and so forth. "Voluntary quits" comprise the largest part of all separations. "Lay-offs" come next in proportion, and the "discharge" is the smallest of the separation rates. These proportions are substantiated for both men and women by recent figures of the United States Labor Department. A study of a large group of industrial workers [3] revealed that 83.58 per cent of the men and 85.71 per cent of the women who left did so of their own accord.

Studying the motivating impulse for "voluntary quits" or separations reveals such a host of social, personal and economic causes—so inextricably bound up in the ambitions, despairs and destinies of men and women—that they call for psychological analysis too lengthy for this paper. They are nearly identical for men and women and can be only briefly touched upon.

There are many classifications of causes used by various schools and industries. Upon an attempt to tabulate these under the primary headings, Economic, Social, Industrial, and Personal, and then to subdivide into secondary causes, one finds a network of correlative lines running from one group to another so complex that any attempt at isolation is impractical. Briefly, the economic causes are business cycles and depressions, mechanizations, and the disintegration of the crafts. Under social causes, there are

[3] "Labor Turnover," *Monthly Labor Review*, January, 1929, p. 39.

seasonal demands, style and custom, the human urge to self-expression, housing and community standards, and, as one romantic writer points out, the American heritage of a roving pioneer ancestry! The purely industrial causes come mostly under the heading of management policy, involving wages, hours and working conditions, selection, promotion, transfer, health and accident supervision, training, etc.

When purely personal causes are considered it is again difficult to isolate these from social and economic causes. However, the following classification of personal causes is suggestive: Nationality and temperament, sex, health, mentality and adaptability, marital status and dependents, death or retirement. In short, one runs through the entire gamut of human experiences and individual differences. Rigid categories are futile for there are no two cases alike. A case of unavoidable separation may have been caused by two or more avoidable causes of entirely different character.

Separations are almost invariably greater among new employees. The learning period is a tense one, causing nervousness, spoiled material and more accidents. The separation rate decreases as the term of service lengthens. It has been conclusively shown throughout the literature on personnel that turnover is highest for both sexes in the unskilled jobs. Since women are more numerous in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, their general rate of turnover must be higher. Here again we find the direct and indirect causes overlapping. A woman, impatient and nervous, abruptly quits, giving as her "personal" reason, "Don't like the work." Had she had some training, or had education prepared her for a better job, she might have remained. The reason for the separation is personal, but behind the reason is a social cause.

A woman employment director says this in comparing the attitude of the sexes.[4] "Desire for higher wages, the common cause of labor turnover among men, has not been a woman's basic reason in a single case in our experience. . . . Wages, work hours, are of little consequence in the attitude of women toward their jobs. As in every other relation in life, their evaluation of a job rests on the answer to the question, 'Do you like it?'" This is the experience of an individual in one plant, and differs decidedly from the opinion put forth in a Government publication.[5] A group of ninety-seven industrial women from eighteen different states, constituting a typical industrial group, were asked to state their reasons for leaving various jobs. There was great variety, "but," the report says, "it is clear that the purely industrial reasons play the greatest part." The dissatisfaction in this group ranged from one hundred and forty-six cases of objection to wages and hours to three cases reporting childbirth as the cause of leaving. Restlessness and a desire to travel were given by thirteen as their reasons for changing jobs, and social, health, domestic, and strike reasons were prevalent.

Broad allowances should be made in evaluating turnover experiences, for there is always an X in the personal equation and the cumulative effect of irritating trifles will often obscure the original cause of sudden leave-taking. Psychological or sociological factors operating toward a sudden decision to quit may be veiled in some mystery.

[4] Wilson, Ida May, "Women Workers and Labor Turnover," *Industrial Management*, January, 1919, Vol. 57.

[5] Hewes, Prof. Amy, *Changing Jobs*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 54.

It is difficult to unearth the basic cause and to classify it accurately.

On the one hand, we hear the complaint that it is the monotony or repetitious character of factory work which causes the worker to seek a change; on the other, one finds that much dissatisfaction is caused when an employer wishes to make operatives flexible enough to be shifted from one task to another. An attempt to rotate tasks is vigorously protested by the workers. On piecework, speed determines the pay, and the worker objects to sacrificing the speed which has been developed by practice. This has been met by adjustments in the wage scale which would equalize the difference during the learning period—but the objections still prevail.

Computing Turnover

There are said to be no less than eighteen methods of computing the rate of turnover. For the present purpose it is only necessary to understand the one most commonly used. As explained above, the numerical total of separations regardless of cause is ascertained for a given period. This total is divided by the average number on the pay roll for the same period. Reduced to a simple mathematical formula it is: Total separations ÷ average number on pay roll = turnover per cent. When once the percentage is found its only virtue lies in the degree to which it is analyzed by departments and remedies applied at the source of trouble.

The Cost of Turnover

Excessive turnover is costly not only to industry but to the wage-earning woman and consequently to society, which bears the burden in the evils of idleness, delinquency, and in the calls upon charitable organizations and free employment agencies. The individual suffers a wage loss, the cost of seeking new employment, and the attendant physiological and psychological stress and strain. The same pressure which falls upon unemployed men is felt by unemployed women, but to a lesser degree. That there are fewer working women than men who are the sole support of families is obvious. The toll, however, is a heavy one upon women who are laid off and a particular burden in the more isolated industries, where changing jobs is difficult.

It is the cash cost to the employer which is most easily pictured with accuracy, and it is only within the plant that curative measures can be scientifically and directly applied to the non-social causes. It is estimated by a prominent engineer that in manufacturing every 20 per cent of turnover costs 1 per cent of the total pay roll; a guide figure only, and subject to fluctuation. A nationally known corporation employing many thousands of women estimates the cost of replacement at $37 each. Slichter cites the case of a girl learning to assemble the cord used on electric appliances. Though a competent worker it took 25 days for her to reach 96 per cent of the normal output. The overhead cost of training large numbers of women can be readily seen by this example. Add to this spoilage, accident frequency, and the attendant disruption of processes and one has an idea of the cost of turnover to management.

Reducing the Turnover Rate

Careful selection of those who are fit, based upon physical examinations and guided by accurate job analysis, is the first and foremost step in preventing turnover among women.

In the light of the writer's personal observations made in 200 plants, the reduction of turnover begins at the door of the employment office, even

before the new worker's name has been entered on a card. The reception of the worker, the character of the waiting room, the attitude of the interviewer, and the ability to make the newcomer realize his or her importance as an individual, are often neglected details. If the worker who has qualified is personally taken to the department where the work is to be done and made acquainted with fellow workers and the floor layout, instructed as to the significant relationship of the task to be performed to other processes and to the finished product, the attitude of the worker is more than likely to be one of alert interest.

Fair wages, reasonable hours, and application of scientific principles to sanitation, medical supervision, accident prevention, lighting, ventilation, seating, rest periods, etc., are critical points in the reduction of turnover. An organized promotion system which eliminates favoritism and rewards diligence is a salutary and too often neglected remedy.

The seasonal and specialty industries which lay off large numbers of women during slack periods can, by a study of markets, regularize work to some extent. It is possible to secure advance orders to the advantage of all concerned and to produce "specials" which will keep the women at work in slack periods. To some extent it is possible to regularize the work so that large emergency forces need not be hired only to be dropped at the close of the emergency.

The final but, in some respects, the most important factor in reducing turnover is the exit-interview. This is a sympathetically conducted interview by a trained personnel worker who seeks to ascertain the true cause of the maladjustment. If the cause is avoidable the blame can be fixed where it belongs; upon faulty selection, inadequate training, lack of leadership, labor policy, inadequate pay, or whatever the cause may be.

A classic example of what can be done when proper attention is given to all of the above enumerated items is the case of a paper novelty manufacturer who reduced the annual turnover rate from 68 per cent to 28 per cent in five years' time.[6] Another outstanding case is that of Henry Ford, who, by scientific methods and wage increases, reduced the turnover from 370 per cent to 16 per cent in two years.[7]

Briefly, then, a conscientious comparison of general trends and of various departments of the individual plant, followed by application of corrective measures at the source of trouble, will reflect a steadily decreasing turnover rate. Proper selection and retention of the new employee is the crux of the problem.

COMPARING TURNOVER RATES FOR MEN AND WOMEN [8]

Having touched upon the causes, costs, and cure of turnover as applicable to both sexes we now turn to weigh what comparisons present themselves.

To the question, Is the turnover rate of women higher than that of men? we answer tentatively, yes. But the figures available do not wholly substantiate the affirmative reply. Conditions vary geographically, occupationally, racially, and they differ according to age groups. It is quite obvious that to make fair turnover comparisons one should study groups

[6] Slichter, Sumner H., Ph.D., *The Turnover of Factory Labor*, pp. 97, 178, 240, 244.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] It should be kept in mind that whatever figures are decontexted for the purpose of this paper are subject to modification because of different methods used in compilation. Quotations, as well, are subject to qualifications to be found in the original studies—and which are too lengthy to give here.

of men and women whose skill, conditions of work, and remuneration are identical and who fall into the same age groups. If this has been done to an extent which would form a basis for fair deductions, such a study has not come to the attention of the writer. It is doubtful that more than one or two industries might be found where the ideal field for comparing the sexes exist. If such there be, the instances might not be numerically great enough to warrant general conclusions.

Most of the comparative tabulations by sex are for the manufacturing industries, these being divided into three groups, revealing great conflicts in testimony and the host of factors which must enter into the statistical weighting:

Rate Higher for Women.—Two comparisons of identical firms in the metal trades industry come from Philadelphia [9] and New York City-New Jersey;[10] the former, covering 33,000 employees; the latter, over 10,000. This data covers two important industrial areas and should be a typical picture. In New York and New Jersey the average number of women employed was 863, showing, in 1928, a turnover rate of 118.2 per cent as against 63.7 per cent for the 9,981 men. In the Philadelphia metal trades, in 1928, among an average of 3,520 women the turnover rate was 211 per cent; for the men 91 per cent. The figure is conspicuously higher for women in both areas. The percentage for Philadelphia is heavily weighted because of unprecedented lay-offs in one firm during the year 1928. Nevertheless, the average for the preceding three years in the same firms was higher for the women, being 165.5 per cent for women and only 125.2 per cent for male employees.

The most recent study available is of two large firms,[11] similar in management policy and employing approximately the same number of men and women. During 1926 the turnover rate among women was greater by 11.82 per cent; in 1927 it was 14.25 per cent greater than that of the men.

A rubber manufacturer employing over 8,000 workers reports an average turnover for 1927 and 1928 of 52 per cent for men and 73.8 per cent for women.

In Philadelphia three of four textile mills reported a higher rate for women employees over a six months' period.[12]

One of the country's largest silk manufacturing companies supplies figures of "voluntary exits" for all causes over the four-year period 1925–1928, which record a consistently higher percentage of quits for women than for men. For this period, the approximate average turnover was 14.4 per cent for men and 22.4 per cent for women.

In a standard work on turnover [13] the author states that "losses among women took place less heavily in the first months of employment," indicating greater patience during the learning period and the willingness of women to wait longer to find a suitable job. But the author further says that while for some plants the rate of women is lower, that, on the whole, "in net effect the curve for men maintains the lower rate."

[9] Metal Manufacturers Association of Philadelphia, *Employment and Turnover in Representative Metal Working Plants.*

[10] New York and New Jersey Branch, National Metal Trades Association. *Labor Turnover Reports.*

[11] "Labor Turnover," *Monthly Labor Review*' January, 1929, p. 39.

[12] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills,* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 52.

[13] Bezanson, Anne, *Four Years of Labor Mobility,* The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1925, University of Pennsylvania.

Comparative figures for the metal trades on light machinery work are as follows: for the year 1928 the turnover rate for women was 187.38 and for men on the same work was 87.08.[14]

Rate Equal for Sexes.—One writer on the subject states,[15] "When one compares men and women of equal skill working under the same conditions, the low turnover rate tends as often to be in favor of the women as the men."

A cotton mill study of 4,338 women and 3,534 male workers in eighteen mills revealed a rate for women of 142.5 per cent, only fractionally different than the 142.1 per cent among men.[16]

Rate Higher Among Men.—A study of forty-five factories shows the turnover among men greater by 57 per cent.[17] In twenty-eight of these factories where service records were kept, women were the more stable employees —the assumption that they get lower wages than men for the same output because they cannot be relied upon to stay in industrial employment is thus brought into question.

In the study of eighteen cotton mills[18] referred to above, of thirteen identical groups reporting a year's separations, the rate for the male employees was higher in ten groups.

A study of women in war-time metal trades work[19] states that of ninety-four employers reporting on turnover, eight only found women's turnover record worse, twenty-six found it equal to men's, sixty held that it was better. (A frequent comment by employers is that women are "steadier than men." This was attributed to the higher type of women entering industry at that time, and sharp competition for jobs owing to an unlimited supply of labor.) The study was made during the war when the attitude of workers was probably a reflection of the general urge to "do their bit."

In the metal trades for the year 1928 women making small parts had a turnover rate of 124.2 as against the rate for men which was 126.98.[20]

Non-Manufacturing.—In New York State the telephone company employ approximately 60,000 workers of whom about 40,000 are in Manhattan, two-thirds of the employees being women. In 1928 for the entire state, including New York City, the turnover rate among the women was 38.4 per cent, and among the men 12.8 per cent; the figures for New York City alone vary only slightly from the state averages.

LENGTH OF SERVICE

Since the general stability and length of service of women bears upon the turnover rate, it will be interesting here to note some further comparisons. A silk manufacturer who ranks among the more progressive industrialists sends the following tabulation for 1926:

It will be noted in the groups whose tenure was 1–5 years and 5–10 years, the percentage of women is higher than that of men. In all other age groups it is lower. (The average length of service of males in all age groups exceeded that of all females by 40.4 per cent.) These figures find a parallel in the experience of an insurance com-

[14] Chicago Branch, National Metal Trades Association.

[15] Bezanson, Anne, *Four Years of Labor Mobility*, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1925, University of Pennsylvania.

[16] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 52.

[17] Florence, P. Sargant, Ph.D., *Economics of Fatigue and Unrest*, pp. 159, 175.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *War-time Employment of Women in the Metal Trades*, National Industrial Conference Board, Research Report No. 8, p. 60.

[20] Chicago Branch, National Metal Trades Association.

COMPARISON OF LENGTH OF SERVICE ACCORDING TO SEX, YEAR 1926

(Proportion of total males and females in each length of service group.)

	0–1 yr.	*1–5 yrs.*	*5–10 yrs.*	*10–15 yrs.*	*15–20 yrs.*
Males	2.48%	16.24%	22.48%	19.60%	13.58%
Females	5.03	29.61	28.23	16.12	7.07
	20–25 yrs.	*25–30 yrs.*	*30–35 yrs.*	*35–40 yrs.*	*40–45 yrs.*
Males	9.16%	6.50%	3.76%	3.50%	1.50%
Females	4.67	4.23	2.41	1.39	0.51
	45–50 yrs.	*50–55 yrs.*	*55–60 yrs.*		
Males	0.80%	0.31%	.9%		
Females	0.51	0.22	....		

pany[21] with a large force where the observer states that "up to at least seven years of employment in this company women tend to be as permanent as men."

In the silk factory (mentioned elsewhere) the rate of voluntary absences for all causes in one year was 5.51 per cent for women and 3.35 per cent for men; again showing women to be more irregular. Length of tenure is noticeable in certain industries and localities, as in a diversity of industries[22] in Mississippi, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, there were, respectively, 8.2 per cent, 7.2 per cent and 6.3 per cent of the women who had been occupied fifteen years in their trade. In cotton mills alone, both northern and southern,[23] 32.5 per cent of the women had been on the job for fifteen years, in some cases extending to thirty years (over-all time).

In an eastern textile mill[24] discharges for a year were 2.25 per cent for women and 4.4 per cent for men. This fact is more or less consistent, since women are less likely to be insubordinate, intemperate, etc. In a study comparing boys and girls under twenty-one,[25] the proportion of girls discharged was decidedly less than that of the boys.

In the clerical and trade occupations there is a tendency in the few studies available to put women on a par with men as far as stability is concerned. In a metropolitan department store[26] there was no significant difference between the two sexes with respect to length of service. "They are equally stable."

Of 400 employees in a financial house,[27] the resignations in three years totaled 135 for women and 265 for men. The women showed an average of 97 weeks of service as against 76 for the men.

In a force of 2,050 office employees of an insurance company[28] 40 per cent of the 540 women remained in service for seven years. Of the 689 men, 38 per cent remained the same length of time. The average length of service of the women who left was 12.39

[21] Bills, Marion A., "Stability of Office Workers," *Journal of Personnel Research*, April, 1927.

[22] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 52.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Slichter, Sumner H., Ph.D., *The Turnover of Factory Labor*, pp. 97, 178, 240, 244.

[25] *Ibid*, 97, 178, 240, 244.

[26] Ho, C. J., *Industrial Psychology*, August, 1928.

[27] Bergen, H. B., "Stability of Men and Women Office Workers," *Journal of Personnel Research*, July, 1926.

[28] Bills, Marion A., "Relative Permanency of Men and Women Office Workers," *Personnel*, August, 1928.

months, as compared with 11.83 months by the men.

In nearly all occupations the home associations of women preclude their seeking employment beyond a limited field. When a man takes a job in another city he might move with him two or more women members of the family who have been employed—in fact this would have a tendency to increase the turnover rate of women, as, for instance, in the mill villages. The changing of job by the wife or mother would not be likely to affect the residence of the male members of the family.

It seems that urban mills have a far greater turnover of women than those in rural communities, and that in southern mills women show a turnover double that of the northern mills. The effect of season upon turnover is significant, as in the cotton mill study,[29] where it is shown to be highest in the autumn and lowest in the spring. (Possibly vacation from school releases older children to take up home duties, thus enabling the mothers to work; possibly milder weather is conducive to work away from home or production demands increase employment.)

It is frequently found that women on different tasks within the same plant will show a marked divergence in turnover rate. While this might be attributable to department policy, it has been shown in a group of textile mills (over a three-year period) that among women winders the turnover was conspicuously higher than among women weavers.[30] Here the question of sex is eliminated entirely for the same divergences are noted among men on different tasks in the same plants.

MARRIED WOMEN WORKERS AND TURNOVER

What correlation, if any, is there between the great increase of married women workers and the turnover rate? The 1920 census reveals an interesting story: In manufacturing, 41 per cent more married women; in trade, 88 per cent more, and in clerical work, 290 per cent more than there were in 1910. Unless all indications are misleading, the coming census will show a still greater accretion in some occupations, since the distribution and servicing of products are absorbing many whom mechanization has displaced. We know that with the industrial revolution came a transfer of women's labor from the home to the office, shop, and factory. Whether the idea is acceptable to us or not the fact remains that they are there to stay.

The United States Women's Bureau says:

> The majority of women workers, both married and single, contribute to the support of others, their earnings being an important factor in the family budget.

We find further, that of all the married women workers, almost 60 per cent fall into the age group 25 to 44 years.[31] This is the period during which women assume the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood and have more calls upon their time and energies; consequently they would be a less stable working force.

Thus we see first, that in the three occupational groups where turnover is a problem, the increase of married women has been marked; second, that 60 per cent of those women are working at the time of life when domestic cares

[29] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Woman's Bureau, No. 52.

[30] Bezanson, Anne, *Four Years of Labor Mobility*, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1925, University of Pennsylvania.

[31] *Facts About Working Women*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 46, p. 47.

would interfere with outside work. It seems logical to conclude that this would elevate the general turnover rate for all women, but we have only fragmentary figures to substantiate this. Many of the tabulations at hand draw comparisons only as to lost time and general stability of married women as compared with single. But that such instability is reflected indirectly in the turnover rate is clear, for a woman consistently iregular in attendance would be discharged and add "one" to the total separations.

In a study of mill workers[32] the experiences of 2,211 women were tabulated as to lost time. The 846 married women of this group lost by absence well over one-fourth of their possible working days. The widowed and divorced lost one-fifth, and the single women one-seventh of the working days. In analyzing the reasons for absenteeism one must allow for discrepancies. Sickness as an excuse is the traditional and least disputed cause of absence—hence, much over-worked. Any reported irregularity "due to illness" is therefore open to question, but the absenteeism among women regardless of cause is a problem of no small proportions.

Further comparisons are found in the records of an eastern silk manufacturer, where (using 100 as the index) the turnover for married women was 356 and for single, 162. This proportion is equalled in a southern cotton mill showing voluntary quits among married women as 202 per cent of the force and for single women 179 per cent of the force.

An amusing incident, showing the reverse picture, occurred in a telephone company. The Employees Council requested the management to demote all married women supervisors, whose husbands could support them, asserting that they tended to remain longer with the company, thus decreasing chances of promotion for those lower down.[33]

The personal opinion of employers has been sought by the writer when visiting industries, and a few are offered here as indicative but not statistically comparable. In a diversity of women-employing factories in the East, Middle West and South, six employment superintendents considered married women more stable than single; twelve found married and single equally stable; one complained that married women were much less stable. The remainder hesitated to say for lack of data.

It would seem that married women in so far as the studies show have a higher turnover and are more irregular in middle life. Whether maternity or the fluctuations in the husband's income or both are responsible for her coming and going must be left to conjecture. Those who deplore the falling birth-rate might find here an opportunity to deny that maternity is an important factor. Estimates are that the average number of children per family is now two plus. Taking one year out for each of two children would be, to say the least, a case of "irregularity" in the employment relationship. Women whose child-bearing years are over are looked upon by employers as reasonably stable.

Age seems to have a greater bearing upon the general stability of women and upon their service value than has marital status. We find employers who hold diametrically opposed views upon the desirability of either the married or single women, but there is almost universal agreement upon the subject of comparative youth. It is possible that the employer prefers the

[32] *Lost Time and Labor Turnover, in Cotton Mills,* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, No. 52.

[33] *Harvard Business Reports,* Vol. 4, 1927.

younger woman because he believes her skill and rapidity will offset the cost of her instability and higher turnover rate. For it is quite obvious that the mature woman, because of the prejudice against her age, clings tenaciously to her job against all odds. To the "voluntary quits" list she adds little or nothing.

A book just off the press states that the majority of managers interviewed admit the excessive turnover among young women workers compared with the older workers.[34] The author points out that in spite of this and because of the artificial age barrier (the thirty-five bugaboo) management is limiting itself to the employment and training of poorly equipped young workers among whom turnover is vast and costly. She urges the employment of the mature woman as one means of reducing turnover costs.

CONCLUSIONS

In summarizing one is necessarily confined to the broadest generalizations: The percentage of women in relation to the total working force, the grade of skill required, the remuneration, and the observations of sex groups of like ages are qualifying factors which are still to be observed simultaneously before true comparisons can be drawn.

We find upon attempting to sum up these heterogeneous opinions that generally speaking, for the larger groups, turnover is higher among women than among men in manufacturing; that true comparisons have not been made and that there is considerable opinion supporting both ratios; that in clerical and trade lines there is a tendency to consider women as stable as men; that turnover and instability is greater among married than among single women in most occupations.

Throughout the assembling and comparing of turnover data the conception of the problem as one of differences between the sexes loses significance, and the conviction grows that the character of the task, age, urban or rural location, management policy and business cycles are the determining factors in turnover. That these factors cut straight across the employment field regardless of sex with more or less sway at given times and places is clear. The emphasis upon sex as the dividing line again fails to convince.

[34] Lobseng, Johanna, *The Older Woman in Industry*, p. 232.

Trade Union Activities of Women

By Theresa Wolfson, Ph.D.

Author, *The Woman Worker* and the *Trade Union;* Department of Economics, Hunter College

THE trade union is the social and economic institution which has assumed the historical rôle of responsibility for improving the economic conditions of industrial workers. Within the last decade the trade union movement, in the United States, has found itself unable to cope with the rapidly changing fabric of the economic world. It is as though the revolution in machine technology, and its resultant effects upon the economic status of the American worker, were too swift for the mental comprehension of those workers who had created an organization to cope with a different economic world geared to a slower speed. The recent industrial revolution has made it necessary and possible for women workers to become an important factor in the labor supply of the country. This influx of women workers as "machine tenders," as agents for the distribution of commodities belched forth by the machines, has changed the complexion of our industrial and social worlds. And so the trade union movement has scarce been able to fulfill its function. Not only was it slow to recognize the woman worker as a worker, but it was slow to adjust its own functional and structural organization to the chameleon-like changes of economic society since the war.

To consider, therefore, the woman worker and her trade union activities is a difficult problem. The woman trade unionist has always been, and is today, a minority member of the workers' organizations. As a worker she is subject to all of the industrial ills which face any worker today. As a woman and generally an unskilled worker, she can take advantage of but few of the remedial measures of economic control. It is indeed a serious fact which confronts those of us interested in the position of the woman worker.

Two questions are frequently asked: Why are there not more women workers organized in trade unions? What sort of trade unionist is the woman worker?

The Trend in Trade Union Membership of Women

In 1924 it was estimated that there were some 250,000 women organized in the American trade unions, out of approximately 3,000,000 women who were eligible for union membership—and out of 8,500,000 gainfully employed women. In 1927, according to figures gathered by Dr. Leo Wolman of the National Bureau of Economic Research, there were some 260,095 women workers organized. The largest proportion of the increase is to be found in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, which is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A decrease is to be found in the total membership of the American Federation of Labor since 1924, although the Convention Report of 1928 indicated a slight increase in membership as against 1927. In 1927 the total average membership of the Federation was 2,812,526; in 1928, 2,896,063. Of about 30,500,000 wage earners in the United States, those organized in trade unions represent approximately one-ninth of the American workers. However, the proportion of women organized is far less—approximately one thirty-fourths or thereabouts.

WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN 1920, BY TRADES AND APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS 1920, 1924, 1927 †

Industry and Trade Union	Number of Women Wage Earners According to 1920 Census	Number of Women Members of Trade Unions		
		1920	1924	1927*
Extraction of Minerals	2,674			
Clay, Glass and Stone	17,586		780	1,215
Flint Glass Workers			30	15
Glass Bottle Blowers			250	12
Potters		1,500	500	1,188
Clothing	368,508	172,700	122,461	101,409
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers		2,400	2,000	2,849
Amalgamated Clothing Workers		66,100	50,000	58,050
United Garment Workers		31,100	29,560	33,250
United Hatters		2,000	1,476	3,450
Glove Workers		600	300	540
Ladies' Garment Workers		65,300	34,125	34,425
Journeyman Tailors		1,900	2,000	1,015
Fur Workers		3,300	3,000	1,080
Food and Kindred Products	93,140	5,400	850	600
Bakery Workers			400	500
Brewery Workers		200	400	100
Amalgamated Meat Cutters		5,200	50	
Iron and Steel	72,218	500	115	105
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers				45
Machinists		500	100	50
Foundry Employees			15	10
Leather	89,396	38,100	9,553	16,303
Boot and Shoe Workers		14,000	9,300	11,200
Elastic Goring Weavers			3	
Leather Workers		2,900	50	20
Fancy Leather Goods Workers		200	200	475
United Shoe Workers		13,000		
Protective Shoe Workers		8,000		4,608
Travelers' Goods				
Lumber and Furniture	32,265		2,021	
Piano and Organ Workers			15	
Upholsterers			2,000	
Painters and Decorators			6	
Metals	70,395		129	
Sheet Metal Workers			100	
Diamond Workers			6	
Metal Polishers			23	
Paper and Pulp	39,569	500	1,000	348
Pulp and Paper Mill Workers		500	500	285
Paper Makers			500	63
Printing	47,576	11,900	7,603	10,223
Bookbinders		8,400	5,500	6,376
Photo Engravers			2	3
Typographical Union		2,000	2,100	2,244
Steel Plate Engravers			1	
Printing Pressmen		1,500	1,000	1,600

The decrease in the membership of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is marked in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the Cigar Makers, the Fur Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Butchers, the United Mine Workers, the Railway Carmen, the Textile Workers, and the Cloth Cap and Hat Workers. At least four of these unions have had a predominantly female membership—the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Textile Workers, the Cloth Cap and Hat Workers, and the

WOMEN WAGE EARNERS IN 1920, BY TRADES AND APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS 1920, 1924, 1927 †—(*Continued*)

Industry and Trade Union	Number of Women Wage Earners According to 1920 Census	Number of Women Members of Trade Unions		
		1920	1924	1927*
Textiles	471,466	40,500	21,400	20,700
Lace Operators				
Silk Workers, Association of			1,400	700
Amalgamated Textile Workers		1,500	2,072	
United Textile Workers		39,000	20,000	10,000
Cloth Weavers				
Carders				
Cigar and Tobacco	97,822	13,200	3,140	2,840
Cigar Makers		6,700	2,000	2,000
Tobacco Workers		6,500	1,140	840
Telephone and Telegraph	196,171	13,800	3,390	15,502
Commercial Telegraphers			390	
Electrical Workers		11,600	1,200	14,200
Railroad Telegraphers		2,200	2,000	1,302
Transportation	211,651		1,000	1,200
Street Railway Employees			1,000	1,200
Trade	556,671	2,900	2,000	140
Retail Clerks		2,900	2,000	140
Professional Service	1,016,498	15,200	7,400	7,710
Actors		3,900	3,900	5,150
Musicians		2,600	1,000	600
Teachers		5,200	2,500	1,960
Vaudeville Artists		3,500		
Musical and Theatrical Workers				
Domestic and Personal Service	1,935,510	11,600	9,000	13,325
Hotel Employees		5,400	4,000	8,700
Laundry Workers		6,200	5,000	4,625
Clerical	1,410,265	38,600	18,920	41,830
Post Office Clerks		3,000	1,500	4,100
Railway Clerks		33,000	4,420	21,850
Federal Employees			9,000	11,880
United Post Office Clerks		2,600	4,000	4,000
Miscellaneous	2,780		15	
Broom and Whisk Makers			15	
		364,900	210,648	260,095

* For the estimates of 1927 I am indebted to Dr. Leo Wolman of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

† All figures given herein are but estimates received from the unions. Few unions keep accurate statistics.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. In practically all of the industries which these unions represent there has been some technological innovation which has displaced labor—both male and female. In most industries the machine has displaced the skilled craftsman, and has taken unto itself the unskilled woman worker. This is particularly true of the cigar industry and the boot and shoe industry.

The decrease in membership in the needle trades' unions is due to the breakdown of the organization as a result of internal clash of policies and leadership, fostered by a serious crisis within the industry itself.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The American trade unions were primarily organized on the craft basis. The skilled worker was the pivot of organization. The four keystones of trade unionism have been in the past: a permanent wage earning group, a skilled craft, strategic, economic position within the industry, and a technique of organization based upon an appeal to the masculine psychology of a skilled craftsman. These tactics of organization were evolved in the early history of the American Federation of Labor. Between 1880 and 1910 the labor movement evolved a program parallel with the development of American industry. The majority of workers were men—undoubtedly a permanent wage earning group, except for the exigencies of cyclical unemployment, and the fulfillment of opportunities to become millionaires, whose sole employment consisted of clipping coupons. The machine was still a tool in the hands of the craftsman, and it was unnecessary to organize the unskilled worker, because the skilled worker was predominant and in the strategic position, industrially speaking. A great many unions had definite constitutional prohibitions against women workers—exerting their influence not only to keep women out of the union but out of the industry.

In 1920 the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor made a study of those unions whose constitutions barred women from membership. At least nine international unions officially opposed the admission of women into their membership. The Journeyman Barbers' Union, however, rescinded the clause of its constitution which barred women from membership in the Union at the 1924 convention, and has since been attempting to organize lady barbers and beauticians. Where these constitutional bars did not exist, there was frequently a tacit understanding in the great brotherhood of man, that woman's place was in the home—little attempt was made to organize the woman worker or the unskilled worker, male or female.

However, with the advent of the Great War, three million men were withdrawn from industry, and machines and women workers were substituted. The changing machine technology of the last ten years has intensified and complicated industry and created a second industrial revolution, where the skilled craftsmen must give way, ungraciously to be sure, to the unskilled woman worker, and to the power of iron and steel. The bewildered and somewhat antiquated crafts unions found this revolution too sudden for their comprehension and adjustment. They have blunderingly attempted to cope with the problems arising out of the new technical phenomena. The woman worker, partly because she has been unorganized, and partly because she has entered into new industries which have never been organized, has assumed an important rôle of competitor with the hosts of men who

have lost out, both in organization and in skill. The organization of 260,000 women workers of a working population of eight and a half million women is a mere drop in the bucket. And yet where these women are organized one finds that they have secured for themselves effective conditions, higher wages, and shorter working hours.

WHY WOMEN HAVE FAILED TO ENTER TRADE UNIONS

Why is the proportion of women organized only one in thirty-four? Why is the trade union membership decreasing in those industries where women are becoming predominant?

There are thousands, even hundreds of thousands of women organized in religious, social, and educational organizations. It is nevertheless an extremely difficult task for the trade unions to organize working women. This difficulty is partly rooted in the inability of the union to shed its heritage of social conceptions concerning woman, the female of the species. It is also due to the inability of the union to organize the unskilled worker, and to maintain its old membership in the face of crumbling skill. Finally, it is due to the lack of group consciousness, on the part of thousands of women who are wage-earners, but have no awareness of themselves as an important part of the labor supply of the country.

Prior to 1910, women workers were to be found employed almost exclusively in agriculture, domestic service, and in those manufacturing industries generally known as "women's trades." Few male workers in these industries have ever been organized in the United States. With the exception of the unions in the needle trades no unions exist in most of these industries today. Furthermore, recent statistics of the Department of Commerce indicate a greater concentration of women workers in new so-called luxury industries—automobiles, artificial silk, and radio; and in the distributive trades, mercantile establishments, restaurants and cafeterias; and in the semi-professional fields, as beauticians, hairdressers, barbers, stenographers, clerks and teachers. In these newer fields, trade unions have not yet appeared to any extent, for there are practically no organizations in the luxury industries, and painfully few in the distributive trades.

In spite of the fact that the increasing number of women workers constitutes a permanent wage-earning group, as is indicated by the increasing proportion of married women in industry, and the increasing age limit of working women, there is nevertheless, a mental attitude of impermanency among the women workers themselves, which constitutes a serious handicap to organization. This latter fact, coupled with the mental attitude of the male unionist, makes organization even more difficult.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE WOMEN

In 1918 the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor engaged a corps of eight or nine women organizers to carry on an intensive organization campaign among women. This was the period of flourishing prosperity in trade union membership. Despite the campaign, few women who were not already in union shops and factories were organized. More recently, in 1926, the Federation attempted a second drive, centering its organization activities in and around Newark, New Jersey. This campaign was so puny and half-hearted in its efforts that practically nothing was accomplished. These two campaigns represent the only attempts made by the American

Federation of Labor, the national organ of American workers, to organize women workers. This much must be said, however, the official policy of the American Federation of Labor has been more liberal toward the woman worker than that of a great many international and local unions.

WOMEN IN LOCAL TRADE UNIONS

Many local unions have adopted the policy of special dues and benefits for women members, ostensibly to create an element of proportion between women's wages and their union dues. Though this action is fully justified, nevertheless, it results in a continuation of the wage differential, when the union makes a wage agreement for its men and women members. Women's wages are generally known to be one-half to two-thirds that of men's wages in the same industry. This has been attributed to the traditional acceptance of the differences between the sexes, the lack of skill, and impermanency of the woman worker.

Many industries employing women spring up as subsidiaries to the more basic industries in a community. It is no secret that the shirt factories and silk mills, which have been started in mining communities, were started to take advantage of the cheap labor supply to be found in the wives, sisters and daughters of unemployed miners. The wages of these women are subject to the laws of supply and demand, but their isolation places them at a disadvantage as far as bargaining power is concerned. If the unions do not organize these workers, or if they do organize them and still retain the wage differential—their control over their women members is weakened.

The Bakery Workers' Union organized most of their women members in auxiliaries, exempting them from assessments, and eliminating them from beneficiary privileges. The Electrical Workers' Union has the same policy, though women engaged in electrical industry are either unskilled or semi-skilled workers, or telephone operators. Similar policies of discrimination along sex and skill lines exist in the United Garment Workers, the Upholsterers' Union, and the Photo Engravers' Union. Thus we find that many unions tend to perpetuate the condition of a wage differential between the sexes. This differential may have arisen from a difference in skill, or the all powerful custom and traditions concerning woman's lesser economic responsibility, her wage subsidy by her family, her lower standard of living, whatever the causes, the fact remains that the differential is perpetuated.

In this respect the woman worker assumes the same position as the immigrant laborer, the negro worker, the child laborer—a competitive factor tending to draw down the general level of wages. This occurs unless she is organized and creates for herself more equitable conditions through her organization. If, however, her union maintains the same unequal conditions, then her position is but slightly improved.

WOMEN IN THE NEEDLE TRADE UNIONS

The largest number of organized women are to be found in the needle trades unions. In 1926 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had a female membership of over 35,000 women, almost one-half of its total membership. In 1927 the number had decreased to 34,425; in 1928, the total membership of the union dropped considerably, and with it, of course, the female membership. This decrease was due to the internal chaos and dissensions that have torn the union apart during the last five years.

In the United Cloth Cap and Hat Makers' Union a female membership of 2,849 in 1927 was decreased by several hundred in 1928 because of the dissolution of Local 43 in New York City, their largest women's local. This dissolution was also the result of internal dissension and the conflict between the left and right wings. The female membership in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has increased between 1927 and 1928 by over 1,500 women members. The Textile Workers' Union and the Fur Workers' Union have, on the other hand, experienced a decided decrease in total membership, and in female membership, between 1927 and 1928.

The needle trades unions historically developed as progressive organizations with a socialistic ideology. They have been responsible in the past for the most varied and stimulating innovations, extra-union in their nature—workers' education, recreation homes, labor banks, etc. The crisis in the needle trades unions arises, partly out of changing conditions within the industry, and partly out of the split in the political and economic philosophy of the membership. The Russian Revolution was reflected in American trade union ranks by a frank "taking of sides." The left wing represents those favoring the Communistic philosophy. This wing crystallized an aggressive trade union policy and attempted to wrest the power from the leaders of the union. It took advantage of the weaknesses of the existing unions—their failures to organize women, the negro worker, and the unskilled worker; and it incorporated in its program, clauses which promised that they would accomplish such organization, if they were in the saddle. Furthermore, they conducted strikes in a number of communities and in several industries, where women, negroes, and unskilled workers were given opportunities at leadership. It is no wonder, therefore, that a very large bulk of the membership of the left wing in the needle trades unions were women. These women were being encouraged to active union participation and they flocked as idealists and martyrs to the new cause.

The right wing consisted of the vested interests in the unions and the older and more skilled workers. The two wings engaged in a fratricidal conflict for supremacy of power, which was aided by the peculiar crisis within the industry itself. The needle trades industries have been subjected to intensive and unbridled competition, chaotic marketing conditions, and overhead costs so cheap that most incompetent and unscrupulous individuals have entered the industry. The unions have been badly shattered as a result of this internal conflict and the external chaos.

In the history of most of the needle trades unions the women members played an important rôle. They were class conscious, idealistic, and devoted to the cause of unionism. The history of the strikes in which they participated, their sufferings on the picket line and in jail, weeks of privation and self-sacrifice, make the tale of Joan of Arc seem pale in comparison. Those women who joined the left wing fought as valiantly for their new ideals. In fact, an observer of this period of strife often wished that they might do less fighting and more constructive thinking, for their union was being shattered in the conflict for control. It has also been observed that more frequently the women workers in the struggle were more fanatic and monistic in their new-found ideals than the men. Certainly, women leaders were made in the left-right struggle in the needle trades in New York City. The organizations,

on the other hand, were badly disrupted.

WOMEN IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry which is the second largest industry employing women workers, according to the 1920 census employed 471,466 women of whom it was estimated, in 1927, approximately 10,000 were organized. This industry particularly has seen amazing manifestations of the desire of women workers to be organized and the participation of the woman worker in the struggles for organization. The historic strike of the textile industry in Passaic, New Jersey, in 1926–27 involved something like 15,280 workers, the majority of whom were women. It is, indeed, an epoch-making example of the ability of women workers to fight for what they consider to be their economic rights. Certainly, the low wages paid in the Passaic textile mills, the threatened 10 per cent reduction, the social conditions which resulted from night work, bad housing, and a heterogeneous working class, contributed to their eagerness and zeal. The strike lasted more than a year, involved the raising and expenditure of several million dollars for relief funds, legal aid, and publicity, and resulted ultimately in a union organization in a community where hitherto there had been none.

At the beginning of the strike the thousands of women of different nationalities could not understand one another and had nothing but their jobs in the same factory in common. After tramping on the picket lines, working in the food kitchens, attending mass meetings, and classes in English, for an entire year, these women were forged into union material, despite their language differences, their maturity, and their social problems.

In 1927 the textile workers in New Bedford, Massachusetts, went on strike against a wage cut, and for the privilege of trade union organization. This strike also involved several thousand women workers of several nationalities and lasted for a period of almost a year. Here, too, the women workers excelled in fighting for ideals, in self-sacrifice, and in their interests in the new organization which would guarantee them strength and bargaining power. In 1928 the hosiery workers in Kenosha, Wisconsin, a decidedly American group of workers, held the front page in the papers because of their gallant fight for the right to organize. They protested against a reduction in wages and against the introduction of a multiple system by which one worker watches two machines, subsequently decreasing the number of workers employed, and increasing production. The Kenosha strike started with 300 men who were later joined by 180 women workers, American flappers, all of them between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. These young girls have tasted the bitterness of an economic fight for the first time in their lives. They have been arrested on the picket line, have been thrown into jail, and have toured the country in the interests of their organization. In many respects they have been the answer to the challenge which the American worker has frequently heard, that the American flapper, even though she is working, cannot be interested in trade union organization.

The increasing number of women in clerical, in professional and semi-professional occupations, the amazing influx of women beauticians, saleswomen, etc., has challenged labor organizations like the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, and the Barbers' Union, which for years have had restrictions against the admission of women members.

Technique of Organization Neglected by Old Craft Unions

These examples of recent strikes in which women have participated with energy and strength and zeal are common to the history of the labor movement abroad where women have been organized for years, and where the trade union movement has accepted woman labor as a force of the general labor supply of the country.

The actual technique of organization has been neglected by the old craft unions. In these days of high-powered salesmanship and advertising campaigns, competition for the spot-light is keen. Old methods of influencing the worker to an appreciation of the importance of unionism fail when they come in contact with the campaigns of industrial welfare organizations and company unions. And since the labor movement never really developed a special technique for organizing unskilled workers, or women workers, this phase of unionism is still to be developed. Whether the woman organizer is more effective than the man; whether the woman's local is more effective in crystallizing group consciousness than the local union, having both men and women members, these are moot questions still to be experimented with and studied. The National Women's Trade Union League organized in 1903 to develop a special technique for organizing working women, has accomplished something toward the formulation of a technique. It is, however, not strong enough nor has it the whole-hearted spiritual and financial coöperation of the labor movement. An organization campaign is not unlike a military campaign.

Its success depends upon strategic attacks at strategic moments. The concensus of trade unions' experience recognizes the comparative futility of organizing workers in periods of unemployment, or during business depression.[1]

Its success also depends upon an intelligent understanding of the workers and their psychology—and whether the appeal is made through the strike, the mass meeting, house to house canvass, the social club or a recreation center—it must be made in a way that would appeal to the workers, and it must take into consideration their psychology, their sex, their racial and cultural traditions.

What Kind of Unionists Do Women Members Make?

It has already been seen that women make excellent fighters for ideals, that they can be organized if the right tactics are employed, and that they are loyal, once they overcome their psychology of impermanency. In addition, women have been effective in a number of allied union activities. They have fought for sanitation and ventilation in the shops and factories. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the ladies' garment industry was an outstanding example of women workers' accomplishments along this line.

Auxiliary Activities of Women to Trade Unions

Not only are women workers effective in their own trade union organization but they have functioned in a number of organizations auxiliary to the trade unions. There are several hundred thousand wives of trade unionists organized in auxiliaries to the trade unions. These auxiliaries have made important spiritual and social contributions to the trade union movement during periods of strikes, lockouts and unemployment. The Women's Auxiliary to the Machinists' Union has

[1] *The Woman Worker and the Trades Union*, p. 143.

been the leader in a movement for workers' education of trade unionists' wives. The auxiliary composed of several thousand women scattered throughout the United States came into prominence during the shopmen's strike in 1922. Funds were raised for relief purposes, clothing was gathered, food commissaries were established to furnish relief to those railroad machinists who were on strike and were unable to bear the brunt of the prolonged period of hardship which prevailed. Following this type of activity the auxiliary widened its influence, by developing a workers' educational program for the women members of the auxiliary. This program was developed and carried out by a special educational committee. The program consisted of organizing educational committees within each auxiliary to launch a program of discussions for the members, arising out of a series of pamphlets on trade union problems; the organization of women workers, problems connected with the raising and care of children, progressive education, topics of general interest with reference to the home, the union lable, and similar subjects.

The Women's Auxiliary to the Machinists' Union also conducted a series of special institutes for its members, offering scholarships to those women who would find it impossible to attend unless they were subsidized in some way or another. These institutes were conducted at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York. Women from Toronto, Canada, Kansas City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and cities further south attended these institutes and participated in the general discussions on problems of vital interest to the trade unionist and his family.

During the recent miners' strike in western Pennsylvania, the Women's Auxiliary of Clearfield, Pennsylvania, did heroic work in helping the miners and their wives through the bitter hardships of the strike period, with its evictions, injunctions, disease and poverty. They not only raised money in their own community, but developed all sorts of speakers' groups and made special appeals to interested individuals throughout the country. Women's auxiliaries also aided in the Passaic textile strike and in the New Bedford strike. It is interesting to note that these women though not directly affiliated with a trade union organization have been able to accomplish remarkable achievements within the trade union movement. Not only have they participated in the strikes by establishing food kitchens and furnishing relief, but they have been interested in the ways and means of improving the organization to which their husbands or sons were affiliated.

Another field in which the woman worker has been active is that of *workers' education*. This movement developed in the United States during the peak of prosperity in the American trade unions organization. It was recognized that one of the most important methods of organizing workers was to educate them to an appreciation of organization, and to make them cognizant of the rôle which they are playing in the industrial world today. The workers' education movement, therefore, developed several points of view reflecting the activity within the unions—the point of view of the trade unionists of the old school, the skilled craftsmen, who were attempting to understand what the changes were about, but were not able to adjust themselves to them, and that of the progressive militants, the younger element in the trade union organization, who were making every effort to develop a rank and file membership, not only intelligent, but willing to assume responsibility in shaping an aggressive

policy and philosophy of trade union organization. And then there was the third group, whose chief motive was that of developing a propaganda of a decided political philosophy within the American labor movement, that philosophy, a radical one, marked by a communistic leadership, and carried on under the wing of the Communist Party. These three phases of workers' education were important in stimulating an interest in the rapidly changing industrial society. Whatever happened within the trade union organization, in the way of conflicts between the militant, aggressive, radical group, and the conservative and contemplative group, was mirrored within the field of workers' education.

WOMEN AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

It is not our province to discuss the relative merits of either brand of education, but rather to appraise the part which women played in the development of the movement. The Workers' Education Bureau, which is the central educational organization of the American Federation of Labor, was organized by a group of men and women who had for several years been conducting classes for workers in their various local communities. The first executive board was composed of at least three women who had been extremely active within the labor movement, one of these women had been secretary of the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the pioneer union in workers' education in the United States. It is interesting to note that the local in the union that started workers' classes in economics, history, and English was a Woman's Local, Local 25, and that the educational activities of the union had for many years been sponsored by the active women members. The Workers' Education Bureau continued the policy of organizing classes in various trade unions, of securing teachers for these classes, of developing labor Chautauquas, and mass meetings of a forum nature. However, the type of education sponsored by this organization, was, generally speaking, conservative and according to the policies of the American Federation of Labor. There developed a series of special educational groups of a more critical nature, adopting a policy of a more militant and aggressive note. Such classes were conducted by the Woman's Trade Union League in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, by Brookwood Labor College, the full time institution for the education of a selected group of trade unionists, and by the Philadelphia Labor College. There also arose the Bryn Mawr Summer School for working women, the Southern Summer School for Working Women, Barnard Summer School, and the Wisconsin Summer School. These schools, though held on the premises of regular colleges, were primarily interested in developing and putting at the disposal of working women such facts and information as they would be unable to secure in the public school system of the communities in which they lived. The organization of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women in Industry, though not definitely affiliated with the trade union movement, nevertheless has developed the policy of including in its student body at least a 50 per cent trade union group.

The summer schools are financed by private individuals and various organizations including a number of local trade unions. They are frankly liberal in their economic philosophy and make an effort to educate their women students in the facts of industry, the trends of economic life and

the importance of trade union organization for women. Undoubtedly, the affiliated summer schools have it within their power to become a great factor in trade union organization, by virtue of the educational facilities at their disposal. There are a number of subsidiary organizations that make an appeal to the woman worker, attempt to develop a certain amount of social consciousness within her, and make it necessary for her to see the importance of organization. The industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association has developed a vigorous educational program for the women workers in their industrial clubs, particularly in those industries and localities where the woman worker has had no contact with the trade union movement. This gives the newly inducted woman worker, in the textile industry of the South, an opportunity to sense the conflict, between the North and the South, in terms of the twentieth century, a conflict arising out of a migrating industry to states where workers are unorganized and poorly paid.

The Communistic wing of workers' education has been carried on by the Workers' Schools in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. These schools and classes are frankly propagandist in nature. They have given special courses in the economic problems of women workers, in trade union organization tactics, and in international trade union movements.

It would seem that the woman trade unionist has been very active in her organization, once she has been educated to an appreciation of its importance. The difficulty lies in the fact that not enough working women have been educated to that appreciation. The next census will undoubtedly show a great increase in the number of women gainfully employed. Will the American labor movement become aware of the necessity of organizing these women? Will the women themselves achieve enough group consciousness to demand organization for themselves?

The Economic Problems of Women

By Emilie J. Hutchinson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University

THE advent of the machine age roughly dated the passing of one social and economic order and the beginning of another that is still in the process of unfolding its peculiar and distinctive characteristics. Economic, political, and social problems have presented themselves with bewildering rapidity, and have created an atmosphere of stress and strain throughout our social life. One of the problems of major importance in this rapidly changing order centers in the economic position and function of women.

As long as the satisfaction of human needs was a matter of household activity in which the whole family joined, women performed their share of production in following the customary division of labor between the sexes. No wholly satisfactory explanation of the basis for this divison of labor has yet been made, but a division of labor between men and women seems to be deeply rooted in our cultural heritage. It raised no particular problem as long as the family was an economic unit and the home the chief locale of economic activity. In these circumstances there was no difference in economic *function* between men and women, in that they were jointly producers and consumers. But when, one after another, the traditional family activities were taken out of the home, the function of women in the home steadily lost its importance in production until it fell to a minimum, and emerged associated primarily with consumption. Production in the new economic order became fundamentally a matter of money-making, and it is still so largely in the hands of men that we roughly classify men as producers and women as consumers.

The transition from the domestic system of industry to machine production involved tremendous difficulties of adjustment for men, but for women adjustments were particularly aggravated because of the conflict that arose, for the first time, between their peculiar responsibilities in childbearing and child care, and their activity as producers. Owing to the productive power of the machine it has been possible for the great majority of women to confine themselves to the now minor productive work of the home, and the major problem of spending the income that men wage-earners provide. In these circumstances, it is inevitable that a special emphasis should be put upon a division of function between men and women in which it seems "natural" for men alone to be the producers. As long as women are not needed in production, they should give—so public opinion holds—their attention to such family matters as have always been their concern, and to the development of their new rôle as consumers. Their increased leisure may be spent in a variety of forms of a non-economic character.

Wage-Earning Women

There have always been some women, however, who have had to seek gainful employment outside the home. In the lowest income group, the earnings of men have been insufficient to support their wives and daughters. Since 1880, when the census began to record separately the number of men and women gainfully employed, the steadily

increasing number of women working for money has been a matter of general interest and concern. Later and more detailed data indicate that wage-earning women, as a rule, come from classes where the economic pressure is greatest, and that they are likely to seek employment in the largest number in the years preceding marriage. The most recent data, however, are noteworthy in that they show an increased tendency towards the employment of married women.

The trend of women's gainful employment has been running counter to the general assumption that men are the "natural" breadwinners in the present economic order. The result has been that the economic opportunities for women have been circumscribed in a variety of ways of which only a few of the more important need be mentioned.

RESTRICTION AND OPPOSITION TO WOMEN IN GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT

In the first place, young women have been even more restricted than young men in their choice of occupation. When gainful occupation is regarded as a temporary experience, the tendency is to take anything that offers itself that one can slip into, without wasting time or money in learning. Hence the situation that is found in industry or in clerical work, where women and girls fill the ranks of unskilled workers. The extreme subdivision of labor which characterizes industrial processes today presents a most engaging opportunity for the untrained worker and for the temporary worker. Since many men and boys are found in similar positions, there is, in consequence, a division of labor not strictly speaking along sex lines, but if we consider industrial occupations as a whole, a very distinct line separates the skilled positions from the unskilled, and the former are almost exclusively filled by men while the latter are filled by women, girls, and the lowest ranks of male labor.

In the second place, women are paid less than men. This is partly because of their youth and the subordinate positions they hold, but it is also in part the result of assigning less importance to women than to men as wage-earners. Recognition is tardy of the fact that not infrequently women have others who are partially or entirely dependent upon them. Their bargaining power in these circumstances is at a minimum. Trade unionism has made little headway among women, largely due, I believe, to the expectation that they were not in industry to stay, and to the lack of willingness among men in the organized labor movement to accept women as fellow workers. They have preferred to regard them as "queens of the home."

In professional work likewise, there is found a division which assigns the subordinate and less well paid work to women. Even in such a field as teaching, the executive positions are usually filled by men although the large majority of teachers are women. In the field of medicine and its allied field nursing, the men predominate in the former, while women fill the positions in the subordinate work. It is not unusual to have the appointment of women to high salaried positions opposed on the ground that the salary should go to a man, it being too high for a woman. There runs throughout the field of employment the attitude that men have the actual as well as the legal economic responsibilities of the home upon their shoulders, and that they have, therefore, a vested right in higher wages than women and a vested interest in every income of any size.

It is against a current of this sort that women must push in entering the

field of gainful employment. They have to contend not only with the difficulties of the work itself, but also with the difficulty of establishing their right to be there at all. The pressure of the opposition increases the higher one goes in the social classes. Grudgingly a place in the economic world is given to those women and girls who *must* support themselves and perhaps others because "natural" male support is lacking, but there is strong feeling against those who do not have to work on the ground that they are taking work from those who need it. On a strictly economic basis there is probably ground for this opposition, since the extent of chronic unemployment indicates an insufficiency of positions.

The seasonal character of industry, particularly where women are employed, makes the workers very jealous of the opportunity to work that comes for only part of the year. In the professional fields likewise, the "unnatural" competition of women is not looked upon with favor by the men who regard the professions as their own preserves. While women have succeeded in getting the training somewhere for every type of work, a perhaps greater obstacle exists in the lack of professional recognition. Professional societies are closed in some cases, in others the membership is so largely made up of men that it functions as a man's organization. There is no acceptance of women as intellectual equals, and, generally speaking, men are not interested in talking with women as they would with men on intellectual topics. In short, it may be said that the general assumption that woman's "vocation" is housekeeping and home-making strongly colors the consideration of women's gainful employment, and although their occupational progress is modifying this point point of view, it is still dominant in our attitude toward women's economic problems as wage-earners.

MARRIED WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT

At the present time while gainfully employed women are drawn largely from the unmarried, the problem has received fresh emphasis in the growing proportion of married women at work. This obviously opposes in a peculiar way the convention that men are the "natural" breadwinners. Concern for the welfare of the family—or possibly concern for safeguarding the economic priority of men—is aroused with renewed intensity. So strong is the prejudice against the employment of married women that many such women seeking employment retain their maiden names—a larger number, by far, than would be found in the "Lucy Stone League." In certain instances, as in public school teaching, a spirited campaign has been necessary to change the ruling that automatically terminated the service of a woman in the public schools when she married. The publicity that is given to the question of "marriage *and* career," and, from another angle, to "marriage *or* career," is further evidence of the interest that the general public takes in the matter of women's gainful employment.

Not a little apprehension exists that economic freedom for women and especially for married women involves the breakup of the family. Alarmists already point out the connection between the divorce rate and the era of women's economic freedom. There are not a few also who look upon husbands as held in the home only by the legal responsibility of supporting their wife and children. They fear that were women given unrestricted freedom to follow an occupation that men would impose upon them to the extent even of abandoning work and looking to their wives for support. This would

be an obviously undesirable reversal of the present situation with no excuse of comparable character.

Moreover, what of the effect of gainful employment upon the birthrate? Or upon the welfare of children? Obviously new problems of vital social concern arise in these circumstances.

Another issue of this tendency touches upon the permanency of gainful employment for women. If marriage were not to terminate a woman's economic independence, should we not modify the vocational attitude of the single woman in substantial ways? Especially among women in professional work we find many individuals who put time, energy, and money into training that is to prepare them for a career that they do not expect to abandon when they marry. One finds many instances in the present generation of college girls of interest in the combination of gainful work and family life. Many of them are actually making the experiment and in the face of great obstacles. In the classes where economic pressure is not as heavy as in the wage-earning groups there is developing a philosophy of economic independence. This is frequently found in women who are doing work which they enjoy, and who have had sufficient experience in economic independence to appreciate a certain kind of freedom that comes with it. The longer a woman has worked in professional fields before she has married the more likely it is that she will continue to work afterwards. In the lower income groups choice is more restricted. The married woman who works in a factory is more likely to be forced to do so because of her husband's inadequate earnings.

ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN

Attending the occupational progress of women there are found other indications of a more positive attitude on the part of women toward their economic position, indications that they are beginning to regard themselves more seriously as producers. For instance, the demand for equal pay for equal work, for rates of pay based on work performance and regardless of the sex of the worker. There is, also, the recent opposition to protective legislation for women only—the demand that it apply to all workers, a demand that also disregards sex in setting standards of working conditions. This has forced a revaluation of discriminatory legislation in the light of its effect upon women's economic opportunity.

The economic problems of women today cannot be considered apart from the changes that the past century has brought in her social position in other respects. At the opening of the last century the personality of women was dominated by that of men in private and public life. A married woman had no right to her property nor to her earnings. She could not make a contract. Her husband was responsible for her debts. He was legally required to support her. Her economic status was essentially that of a child.

The formal education of girls was sharply differentiated from that of boys. It was based upon the assumption of the difference in the rôle and function of women both at home and in the community. Her intellectual capacities were either denied or discounted in emphasis upon an emotional development patterned upon what was supposed to be women's real and peculiar nature. In the early extension of political enfranchisement women were not included. The duties and responsibilities of citizenship were regarded as primarily the prerogatives of men. Her political views and interests, even when it was assumed that she had any, were taken care of by the votes of men.

These circumstances are familiar as the setting of the feminist movement as an organized effort to gain for women freedom of educational choice and opportunity, political enfranchisement, and some modification of the subservient position held by the wife in the family relationship. Although obscured by the appearance of a struggle to pattern the conduct of women upon that of men, the essence of "the women's movement" has been the assertion of the right of women as individual human beings to realize their varied interests and capacities in an atmosphere of freedom from the barriers of assumed sex differences.

Viewed with the historical perspective of the general change in the position of women, the economic problems of women take on a peculiar significance. Economic opportunity is beginning to have the emphasis that education and suffrage have received. It involves consideration not only of the problems of that group of women who, under obvious economic pressure, must work whether they want to or not, but also of other women who are adding to the family income to maintain or to raise their standard of living where the standard is already well above the minimum. Yet others are urged by a clear conviction of economic independence as the foundation of responsible adult life. Out of this situation there are emerging conflicting theories of what the economic status of women should be just as, in former times, there have been conflicting theories of what women's educational opportunities should be, or of what their political status should be. The real clash of these opposing theories is in the gainful employment of women after they are married. And this, I believe, is the heart of the economic problems of employed women today. So long as marriage is regarded as an alternative to gainful employment, so long must women find their economic opportunity restricted and subordinated to what is regarded as their real "vocation." There is, then, a special importance to be attached to the fact that some women, though few in number, are experimenting with the combination of marriage and career, that unmarried women, too, are beginning to plan their future to include both marriage and a "job,"—refusing to consider them as alternative.

Questions of far-reaching import are involved in this economic situation. Economic independence and economic freedom for women imply profound changes in the social and psychological relationships of men and women. They imply a profound change in the attitude of women toward themselves. Without doubt, more difficult adjustments are involved than have attended other phases of women's progress, although, in a sense, they are the fruition of the success with which women have attained earlier stages in freedom. What the outcome will be no one can say. The conservatively minded will continue to view the situation with alarm, the more radically disposed with hope and confidence. Meanwhile invaluable work there is to be done in extending the frontiers of our knowledge and understanding, in the open-minded patient examination of a mass of complicated data on which interpretation and evaluation of women's economic problems depend.

Some Factors Affecting Earnings of Business and Professional Women

By Margaret Elliott, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Personnel Management, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan

and

Grace E. Manson, Ph.D.
Research Associate, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan

THERE is an admitted lack of factual material on the economic status of women at the higher occupational levels. How much do they earn? With what success, measured in earnings, are they venturing into the "newer" occupations for women? How important is work experience as a factor in earnings? Do college-trained women receive higher salaries than others? Answers to these questions, and many more which suggest themselves, are as yet in the realm of conjecture.

To meet this need for quantitative data on the status of women in business and professional work, a coöperative study was launched a little more than two years ago by the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Michigan and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, an organization of approximately 50,000 women in forty-seven different states. The Bureau of Business Research has assumed responsibility for financing and directing the investigation, and the Federation has made available the data through the use of questionnaires distributed among its membership. As the study has not yet been completed, the results presented here must be considered in the nature of a preliminary report. A complete analysis of the data will appear shortly as one of a series of Michigan Business Studies, published by the University of Michigan. Here we must content ourselves with a necessarily brief discussion of some of the more significant causal factors in earnings of business and professional women.

The methods used in making the study are of concern here only as they furnish a basis for evaluating the results. The investigation was based upon an eight-page questionnaire sent to the entire membership of the Federation; 46,760 blanks were distributed through 813 local clubs, of which number 14,073, or 30 per cent, were filled out in sufficient detail to be usable. It is necessary to bear in mind the limitations of data assembled by means of a questionnaire, even when secured under conditions as favorable as in the present situation. Persons who voluntarily answer a questionnaire constitute a selected group, although the exact basis of selection is not certain. Loyalty to the Federation, interest in the problem under investigation, facility in filling out questionnaires, are certainly among the obvious influences. As a selective factor, occupation engaged in was in this case apparently of relatively little importance, for the distribution of occupations in the group of 14,073, who returned their questionnaires, varied only very slightly from occupational

distribution of the entire Federation. After careful comparison with the federal census of occupations, it seems fair to say that the group under investigation is a representative cross-section of women's work, exclusive of manual occupations.

Interest in a study of this sort naturally centers around earnings as a measure of success. "Earnings" were here taken to mean returns from major, full-time occupation, whether in the form of salary or net business earnings (as defined in directions for filling in the questionnaire). Among the personal-history items associated with earnings, which have been analyzed, are occupation—taken individually and also grouped by fields of employment and types of work—experience, age, population of the city or town where employed, marital status, responsibility for dependents, and education. Of these, probably the most important single relationship to be considered is that of occupation to earnings. The wide range of occupations represented in the present study, however, makes it impossible, within the limits of this article, to consider occupations individually. In the 14,073 questionnaires returned, there were listed no less than 6,448 different combinations of jobs and employers. We shall, therefore, confine our discussion here to a comparison of earnings by occupational groups, first, when other influences are not taken into consideration, and second, when certain of these other possible causal factors in earnings are controlled.

EARNINGS OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

A dual scheme of classification for occupations was used in the study. First, occupations were divided into eight groups on the basis of field of employment—that is, the nature of the business, industry or organization where the work was carried on; then they were regrouped according to the nature of the work itself, as clerical, sales, personnel, and so on. An illustration will make clear the difference between the two groupings. Under the first scheme, physicians would be classified under *Education* if in public school work, under *Government* if

TABLE I—COMPARISON OF EARNINGS AND EXPERIENCE BY FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT

Field of Employment	Number of Cases	Per Cent of Total	Earnings *			Per Cent Earning $3,000 and Over	Median Experience in Years
			Q_1	Median	Q_3		
Commerce	4,743	35.7	$1,065	$1,436	$1,849	8.2	13.7
Education	3,088	23.2	1,253	1,558	1,949	3.7	13.3
Manufacture	1,922	14.4	1,216	1,554	1,999	7.2	14.4
Government	1,194	9.0	1,336	1,803	2,150	5.3	14.8
Professional	1,021	7.7	1,194	1,554	2,046	11.8	12.5
Semi-public †	831	6.2	1,529	1,854	2,269	7.3	14.6
Transportation	448	3.4	1,197	1,435	1,683	2.3	12.8
Primary production	55	.4	1,233	1,750	2,200	10.4	13.2
Information missing	771	.....	1,077	1,470	1,922	6.9	13.8
Totals	14,073	100.0	$1,213	$1,548	$2,038	6.7	13.7

* Figured on $100 class intervals.

† Civic, eleemosynary and fraternal organizations.

connected with a city health department, and under *Professional* if engaged in private medical practice. In the second scheme, where the basis of classification is type of work, all physicians would be grouped together with other health workers under *Health*. If interest centers in comparison of opportunities in different fields of employment, the first grouping is used; but if one is concerned primarily with the job itself, or kinds of work, then the second is more significant.

Classification by fields of employment reveals a marked concentration in commerce, education, and manufacture (Table I). Approximately one-third of the total number of women represented are in commerce; and commerce, education, and manufacture together command the services of 9,753, or 73.3 per cent of the total. With the exception of primary production, however, the other groups are probably sufficiently large to show definite tendencies.

There is a marked difference in range of earnings in these different fields. If one compares the spread of earnings of the middle 50 per cent of cases in each field of employment (that is, the difference between Q_1, the 25th percentile, and Q_3, the 75th percentile), it appears that the range of earnings for women in transportation, commerce, education, and manufacture, is noticeably lower than for those engaged in government or professional

TABLE II—COMPARISON OF EARNINGS AND EXPERIENCE BY TYPES OF WORK

Type of Work	Number of Cases	Per Cent of Total	Earnings *			Per Cent Earning $3,000 and Over	Median Experience in Years
			Q_1	Median	Q_3		
Clerical	5,862	42.8	$1,161	$1,467	$1,830	2.6	12.4
Teaching	2,689	19.7	1,253	1,557	1,965	4.0	13.6
Sales and publicity	1,469	10.8	1,019	1,531	2,220	15.2	16.4
Health	894	6.5	1,382	1,836	2,418	14.1	13.3
Financial	609	4.5	1,511	1,864	2,498	17.7	16.9
Production and planning	463	3.4	968	1,295	1,870	8.3	15.5
Food, living and personal service	418	3.1	1,219	1,860	2,494	13.7	13.8
Welfare	315	2.3	1,664	1,911	2,434	7.0	15.6
Library	205	1.5	1,230	1,621	2,458	5.5	16.2
Legal and protective	182	1.3	1,356	1,843	2,517	18.2	14.9
Editorial	168	1.2	1,192	1,564	2,030	7.7	13.4
Purchasing	141	1.0	1,061	1,368	1,888	5.8	18.3
Research	80	.6	1,550	1,900	2,225	5.1	10.3
Personnel	75	.5	1,690	2,066	2,662	21.6	16.5
Service	45	.3	2,012	2,483	2,975	24.4	17.8
Professional, not elsewhere classified	34	.3	1,025	1,350	2,017	6.7	12.9
Religious	18	.1	1,000	1,275	1,900	....	18.8
Administrative, not elsewhere classified	12	.1	1,575	3,025	4,225	54.5	15.0
Amusements	7	.0	.....	.....	.....	....	....
Political	2	.0	.....	.....	.....	....	....
Information missing	385	.....	1,062	1,515	2,046	10.8	19.5
Totals	14,073	100.0	$1,213	$1,548	$2,038	6.7	13.7

* Figured on $100 class intervals.

work, or in semi-public organizations, which include civic, eleemosynary, and fraternal groups. The low range in transportation may be explained by the high percentage of telephone operators and clerical workers included in the group. The range in commerce and manufacture is also considerably lowered by the inclusion of large numbers of clerical workers. This does not apply, however, to education. Furthermore, if one turns from middle range to upper extremes, the comparison is even more distinctly to the disadvantage of education, for in the latter only 3.7 per cent of the group are earning over $3,000, whereas, in commerce and manufacture, the percentages of earnings over $3,000 are 8.2 and 7.2 respectively. In other words, the apparent chances of high financial rewards in commerce and manufacture are approximately twice as great as in education.

The highest central range in earnings in any group is to be found in semi-public organizations. Here the middle 50 per cent of the total number are earning between $1,529 and $2,269. This is due in part to the fact that there are relatively few clerical workers in the group. By contrast, the professional group includes not only independent professional workers, such as physicians, lawyers, and architects, but also their office assistants. Similarly in government service, clerical workers are fairly numerous, tending to lower the earnings range. As one might expect, government service seems to offer relatively slight prospects of high returns.

EARNINGS OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN BY TYPES OF WORK

A more significant analysis is secured by a comparison of numerical concentration and earnings in different types of work (Table II). Of the total group under investigation, 5,862 or 42.8 per cent were engaged in clerical work, and 2,689 or 19.7 per cent in teaching. Of twenty different types of work, four—namely, clerical, teaching, sales and publicity, and health work—command the services of 10,914 or 79.8 per cent of all those reporting. Among the types of work where the range of earnings of the middle 50 per cent of the cases is particularly narrow, we find clerical work and teaching. On the other hand, a relatively wide spread is found in food, living, and personal service, library work, and sales and publicity. Again, the percentages of earnings in excess of $3,000 are low in clerical work, teaching, and purchasing, in contrast to high percentages in legal and protective, financial, and sales and publicity work.

RELATION OF EARNINGS TO EXPERIENCE

Before drawing conclusions, however, the reader should examine the last column in Table II, which indicates median experience in years. Experience, it will be seen, varies widely between groups, from a median of 10.3 years in research to 18.8 years in religious work. How much of the variation in earnings is due to difference in experience? Will occupations maintain independent earnings curves when experience is controlled?

To answer these questions each occupational group has been divided into five-year experience groups and median earnings figured for each experience interval (Table III). Earnings were here distributed on a $200 interval instead of the $100 interval used in Tables I and II, which explains the lack of agreement between median earnings in these tables. When these curves of median earnings in different types of work are plotted, certain rather definite tendencies are revealed. *First,*

TABLE III—RELATION OF EXPERIENCE TO EARNINGS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK

Type of Work	Experience (Years)																	
	Information Missing		0–4.9		5–9.9		10–14.9		15–19.9		20–24.9		25–29.9		30 and Over		Totals	
	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *
Clerical	225	$1,354	800	$1,040	1,472	$1,318	1,118	$1,480	867	$1,606	657	$1,707	392	$1,849	331	$1,825	5862	$1,434
Teaching	105	1,573	328	1,220	582	1,357	528	1,570	403	1,711	283	1,846	222	1,933	238	1,877	2689	1,552
Sales and publicity	188	1,254	108	938	237	1,257	235	1,478	223	1,643	197	1,825	134	2,076	147	1,933	1469	1,490
Health	97	1,775	91	1,564	179	1,759	197	1,833	125	1,994	102	2,102	57	1,942	46	2,450	894	1,858
Financial	30	1,900	27	1,425	109	1,377	109	1,871	116	1,956	101	2,190	61	2,025	56	2,458	609	1,904
Production and planning	76	1,450	34	800	76	1,115	77	1,247	64	1,347	57	1,717	37	1,700	42	1,533	463	1,321
Food, living and personal service	53	1,450	58	1,433	70	1,800	71	2,200	59	1,975	50	2,125	27	2,083	30	1,900	418	1,883
Welfare	13	1,833	23	1,862	54	1,900	67	1,980	63	2,080	47	2,000	24	2,500	24	1,960	315	1,968
Library	15	1,375	14	1,060	36	1,438	38	1,875	30	1,700	26	1,875	24	2,036	22	1,867	205	1,631
Legal and protective	7	....	17	1,500	35	1,525	36	1,925	31	1,820	20	1,600	21	2,450	15	2,333	182	1,882
Editorial	17	1,300	21	1,300	32	1,312	33	1,480	26	1,740	11	2,562	10	....	18	1,900	168	1,538
Purchasing	20	1,250	6	....	18	1,250	15	1,367	33	1,475	25	1,500	12	1,467	12	1,800	141	1,374
Research	2	....	15	1,900	23	1,917	16	1,925	8	....	7	....	5	....	4	....	80	1,960
Personnel	4	....	4	....	12	2,050	16	2,167	12	2,375	11	2,312	6	....	10	2,333	75	2,174
Not elsewhere classified	13	....	7	....	19	....	21	....	20	....	17	....	5	....	16	....	118	....
Information missing	334	....	6	....	7	....	8	....	5	....	7	....	8	....	10	....	385	1,478
Totals	1,199	$1,435	1,559	$1,133	2,961	$1,350	2,585	$1,553	2,085	$1,726	1,618	$1,843	1,045	$1,920	1,021	$1,904	14,073	$1,526

* Figured on $200 class intervals.

there is a general tendency for earnings to rise with experience up to about thirty years of experience and then to maintain a plateau, or decline. *Second*, there is a wide difference in initial salaries in various types of work. *Third*, types of work which have high beginning salaries maintain a generally high level throughout. *Fourth*, in types of work where the limits of earnings are determined more by individual initiative and ability than by salary schedules, such as selling, law or medicine, earnings are low at the start, but rise with experience to greater heights than in salaried occupations.

SIZE OF THE CITY OR TOWN IN RELATION TO EARNINGS

As might be expected, earnings vary directly with the size of the city or town where the occupation is carried on. Although Table IV shows only the population distribution for the total group, the same general tendency for earnings to increase with size of place holds for each different type of work.

TABLE IV—RELATION OF POPULATION TO EARNINGS

	Population									
	Information Missing	Less than 2,500	2,500–4,999	5,000–9,999	10,000–24,999	25,000–49,999	50,000–99,999	100,000–249,999	250,000 and Over	Totals
Number of cases..	5	1,055	1,853	2,484	3,219	1,969	1,454	1,121	913	14,073
Median earnings *	..	$1,252	$1,295	$1,345	$1,486	$1,748	$1,824	$1,935	$2,151	$1,526

* Figured on $200 intervals.

EARNINGS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

In comparing earnings in different kinds of work (Table II), one important causative factor, namely possible differences in education of persons engaged in these occupations, was not considered. Table V makes possible a comparison of earnings in different types of work by educational levels. From this table it appears: *First*, that for the total group the better educated women are earning more despite a smaller number of years' experience. *Second*, that this condition exists in practically all types of work. In other words, the better educated women are in all types of work receiving the highest financial returns in those fields.

Educational concentration varies characteristically in different types of work. This is apparent from a comparison of the percentage distribution by educational levels for the total group with that of the different kinds of work. Of the total group, 11.2 per cent are at the grade school level, 49.4 per cent have attended or graduated from high school, 12.6 per cent have attended normal school, 14.2 per cent have attended college, but have not graduated, and 12.6 per cent hold B.A. or advanced degrees. Comparing these total group percentages with those for different fields, interesting variations appear. There is, for instance, a noticeable concentration of women of only high school education in clerical and financial work. Teaching, on the other hand, claims a high percentage of college graduates, nongraduates, and normal school women. Sales and publicity, production and planning, and purchasing, include considerably higher proportions of women at the grade school level.

TABLE V—RELATION OF EDUCATION TO EARNINGS AND EXPERIENCE IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK

Type of Work	Education																				
	Information Missing			Grade School			High School			Normal School			College Non-Graduate			College Graduate			Totals		
	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †	No. of Cases	Median Earnings *	Median Experience (Yrs.) †
Clerical	48	$1,370	15.3	648	$1,501	16.3	3,887	$1,403	12.0	478	$1,490	14.2	597	$1,454	10.3	204	$1,621	10.6	5,862	$1,434	12.4
Teaching	11	....	....	34	1,560	20.9	293	1,436	16.6	747	1,424	14.2	647	1,394	12.8	957	1,773	12.8	2,689	1,552	13.6
Sales and publicity	27	1,133	18.3	306	1,306	19.1	735	1,467	16.0	160	1,460	16.5	157	1,876	13.9	84	1,962	15.5	1,469	1,490	16.4
Health	15	1,900	....	110	1,552	14.2	439	1,793	12.1	96	1,938	17.5	152	2,000	13.4	82	2,483	13.0	894	1,858	13.3
Financial	5	....	....	62	1,955	20.6	394	1,900	17.1	51	1,583	15.0	65	1,943	15.7	32	2,000	13.6	609	1,904	16.9
Production and planning	13	....	....	139	1,280	18.3	245	1,303	13.8	26	1,600	19.0	29	1,867	15.5	11	2,500	12.5	463	1,321	15.5
Food, living and personal service	9	....	....	80	1,356	14.5	179	1,547	13.0	38	1,740	16.4	53	2,300	15.0	59	2,297	12.5	418	1,883	13.8
Welfare	3	....	....	17	1,875	20.4	108	1,897	17.6	21	1,912	19.0	57	1,992	16.0	109	2,119	12.7	315	1,968	15.6
Library	6	....	....	6	....	....	62	1,533	17.2	24	1,400	18.1	41	1,420	18.0	66	1,893	13.3	205	1,631	16.2
Legal and protective	2	....	....	15	1,533	20.0	84	1,847	16.1	16	1,950	15.8	36	1,867	12.9	29	2,214	12.5	182	1,882	14.9
Editorial	2	....	....	15	1,850	21.2	65	1,444	14.0	22	1,650	15.0	36	1,471	12.0	28	1,950	10.4	168	1,538	13.4
Purchasing	4	....	....	37	1,400	22.5	79	1,293	15.6	9	....	....	6	....	....	6	....	....	141	1,374	18.3
Research	1	....	....	4	....	....	26	1,900	11.4	6	....	....	13	2,125	10.0	30	1,983	8.8	80	1,960	10.3
Personnel	..	....	....	4	....	....	34	2,167	18.8	8	....	....	8	....	....	21	2,450	12.9	75	2,174	16.5
Not elsewhere classified	4	....	....	9	....	....	60	....	....	6	....	....	26	....	....	13	....	....	118	....	....
Information missing	23	....	....	75	....	....	182	....	....	37	....	....	45	....	....	23	....	....	385	....	....
Totals	173	$1,412	17.2	1,561	$1,480	17.5	6,872	$1,463	13.3	1,745	$1,506	15.0	1,968	$1,529	12.5	1,754	$1,876	12.6	14,073	$1,526	13.7

* Figured on $200 intervals.
† Figured on five-year intervals.

From Table V it is apparent that in every field of work the college woman is earning more than the non-college woman. But is she venturing into those fields where chances of high financial rewards are greatest? Of the 1,725 college women giving necessary information, 55.5 per cent are engaged in teaching, 11.8 per cent in clerical work, and 6.3 per cent in welfare work. Of these, only the last offers, relatively speaking, much remunerative promise. (See Table II.)

Seventy per cent of the college group are in the employ of educational, social, or welfare organizations. Why? A variety of possible explanations suggest themselves. Is the college woman financially more nearly able to disregard monetary considerations than women at lower educational levels? Is the question of financial rewards of less significance to her than the inherent satisfactions of the work itself? May it be that the college woman is more susceptible to the influence of traditional respectability surrounding certain occupations such as teaching and social work? Or is the matter of ease of securing employment a controlling factor? The question of causative factors deserves consideration.

SUMMARY

The earnings of 14,073 business and professional women have been analyzed in an attempt to isolate some of the factors influencing earnings. From this analysis the following conclusions have been drawn:

(1) Earnings vary widely in the different fields of employment. Median earnings are apparently lowest in the fields of commerce and transportation and highest in government service and in civic, eleemosynary, and fraternal organizations (grouped here under "semi-public"). Chances of high financial rewards seem best in independent professional work, commerce, manufacture, and semi-public organizations, and poorest in transportation and education.

(2) Type of work done is a more significant basis for comparing earnings than field of employment, for interest is centered in the occupation itself rather than in the place of work or nature of employer's business. The largest single group is the clerical workers, which includes 5,862 or 42.8 per cent of the total. There are, however, more than 500 women in each of the following kinds of work: clerical, teaching, sales and publicity, health, and finance. Median earnings are higher in health and financial work than in teaching, clerical, or sales and publicity work. Furthermore, the percentages of women earning $3,000 or more in clerical work and teaching are relatively small—2.6 per cent and 4.0 per cent respectively.

(3) In each type of work, earnings vary with years of experience. In general, earnings increase with experience up to approximately thirty years of work and then decline. Median earnings of women with less than five years' experience are lowest in production and planning, sales and publicity, and clerical work. They are highest in the following groups: Welfare, legal and protective work, finance, and food, living and personal service. Earnings after twenty years of experience are highest for these same groups.

(4) Median earnings vary directly with population of towns where the women are working. How much of this variation is due to differences in cost of living, and how much to other selective factors, it is difficult to say. In types of work where the number of cases is sufficiently large to warrant conclusions, there are wide differences in earnings between large and small population centers. This is particu-

larly true of legal and protective and financial workers. For clerical workers, on the other hand, earnings vary relatively little according to the size of the community.

(5) Almost without exception, median earnings increase with the amount of education received. College graduates are the most highly paid group in every type of work except research. This exception can probably be explained either by the small number of cases or by the lower experience median of college women in the research group. It seems, therefore, that where college women venture they succeed. But so far they tend to concentrate in teaching, where salaries are relatively low. Seventy per cent of the college group are in the employ of educational, social, or welfare organizations.

Women as College Teachers

By Marion O. Hawthorne, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, School of Education, Northwestern University

WOMEN properly trained have long been recognized in this country, and in others as well, as the most desirable teachers of children in the elementary schools. They have also taken their place in the secondary schools, and outnumber the men as teachers there. However, in the field of college teaching, they have not been widely accepted, nor uniformly recognized and advanced. They seem to decrease in number from the elementary schools to and through the institutions of higher learning, giving the impression that while they are acceptable as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, they are less acceptable, or not at all acceptable as teachers in colleges and universities. Institutions of higher education have not seemed to hold much promise in the past for women who desire to prepare for, and advance in that field of teaching.

The question as to the teaching opportunities for women in colleges and universities gave rise to a study of the present professional status of college women teachers, including an investigation of their academic and professional training, the fields in which they teach, their salaries and incomes and their prospects for promotion and advancement. This article presents only the most important findings of the study, and the material included here constitutes only a partial treatment of all the data received and tabulated. One hundred and twenty-two of the 193 institutions belonging to, or approved by the American Association of Universities, are represented by the 844 women who responded to the questionnaire circulated. Women's colleges, state universities and small denominational colleges, comprise the list of institutions from which replies were received.

Academic and Professional Training in Comparison with Rank

One index to the status of women college teachers is to be found in their academic and professional training. Table I shows the percentage of women in each rank, and the percentage within each rank holding each of five degrees, holding certificates, and holding no degrees. The degree indicated in each case is the highest degree held.

According to Table I nearly half of the women reporting (43.3 per cent) hold no higher degree than a master's, and the percentage holding bachelor's degrees is only 4.8 per cent less than the percentage holding Ph.D. degrees. The percentage holding M.D.'s, B.D.'s, or certificates, is in each case less than 5 per cent.

A very small percentage of all the women reporting, 2.3 per cent, hold no degrees. These women are found chiefly in the rank of Full Professor or in administrative positions, and in practically every case have been teaching many years, advancing to their position by virtue of their experience and productive scholarship. Some of this number of women holding no degrees can be accounted for by the fact that they have had special kinds of training for such work as music, art, physical education, and the like, for which they have not received degrees.

TABLE I—THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN EACH OF SIX RANKS AND ADMINISTRATOR IN 122 HIGHER INSTITUTIONS, AND THE PERCENTAGE WITHIN EACH RANK HOLDING EACH OF FIVE DEGREES, HOLDING CERTIFICATES, AND HOLDING NO DEGREES

Rank	Ph.D.	M.A.	M.D.	B.A.	Certificate	B.D.	No Degree
Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent			
Professor 18.70	53.14	29.74	2.53	10.12	....	...	4.42
Associate Professor 12.20	49.53	33.99	.97	11.65	2.93	...	.97
Assistant Professor 25.59	27.31	50.47	.92	17.13	2.31	...	1.39
Instructor 36.13	12.16	49.33	.66	33.66	.66	.66	2.00
Assistant 3.42	3.44	55.17	13.79	27.58	....	...	.....
Administrator 3.30	10.71	35.71	.....	42.87	....	...	10.71
Professor Emeritus .11	100.00	.....	.....	.....	....	...	.....
No rank 1.06	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	...	.....
.....	28.08	43.30	1.50	23.20	1.10	.02	2.30

r equals .38.

In so far as degrees represent steps in training, a comparison of degrees earned with present rank held is significant. According to Table I the correlation between training and rank is low (.38), which implies, at least, that training leading to degrees has relatively little to do with advancement in the various college ranks, and that the acquisition of advanced degrees by women does not necessarily assure advancement.

Less than 20 per cent of all the women reporting are now working toward advanced degrees, and most of these are found in the lower ranks where advanced degrees are considered essential to professional advancement. The fact that the total number engaged in postgraduate study is 64.7 per cent of the total number having bachelor's degrees indicates that the majority of women are working for no higher degree than the master's. Only 14.7 per cent of the 844 women here involved have had foreign study.

It is interesting to note that more than half of the women reporting have had teaching experience in elementary and high schools, and more than one-third have had other types of professional experience, such as social service, research, or business.

FIELDS IN WHICH WOMEN TEACH

Women are found to be teaching in practically every academic field, and in many professional branches as well. Table II presents the list of departments in which the 834 women answering this question were teaching, and the number teaching in each department. From the summary it is seen that 41.39 per cent teach languages and social sciences, that is, English, Modern Language, and the Classics, History, Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy; 40.79 per cent offer professional courses—Home Economics, Agriculture, Journalism, Physical Education, and Education, Speech, Music, and Art; 16.78 per cent teach the sciences—Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Zoölogy, Botany, and Biology. A very small group (.59 per cent) were listed as miscellaneous, since the courses they were teaching seemed not to fall in any of the above classifications.

TABLE II—THE DEPARTMENTS IN WHICH 834 WOMEN TEACH IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AND THE NUMBER IN EACH DEPARTMENT

Name of Department	Number
English	102
Modern Languages	102
Home Economics	92
Physical Education	77
Education	58
History	40
Mathematics	36
Chemistry	34
Art	29
Psychology and Philosophy	29
Latin and Greek	27
Economics and Political Science	27
Medicine and Pharmacy	24
Music	24
Biology	22
Zoölogy	17
Botany	15
Sociology	12
Library Science	12
Speech	11
Agriculture	8
Biblical Literature and Religious Education	7
Physics and Astronomy	7
Business Administration	6
Physiology and Hygiene	6
Miscellaneous	5
Geology	3
Journalism	2

Summary: Number and Percentage in Various Fields

Language and Social Science	346	41.39
Sciences	140	16.78
Professional Courses	343	40.79
Miscellaneous	5	.59
Total	834	99.55

SALARY AND INCOME

The distribution of salaries in each of the five ranks, and among Administrators, is presented in Table III. The salaries are found to range from $500 to $6,999 per year. The actual amount of salaries cannot be ascertained from Table III, as salaries are given in this table by $500 intervals. However, a correlation of .64 is noted here between rank and salary. The median salary paid Full Professors is $421 more than the median salary paid Associate Professors, $940 more than the median salary of Assistant Professors, and $1,506 more than the median for Instructors. The median salary of Assistant Professors is only $525 less than the median for Associate Professors, and $565 more than the median for Instructors. In other words, 50 per cent of the Full Professors, 88.3 per cent of the Associate Professors, 93 per cent of the Assistant Professors, 99.3 per cent of the Instructors, and 95.8 per cent of the Assistants receive less than $3,500 per year.

As indicated in Table III the correlation between rank and salary is found to be .64, the highest correlation found between any two sets of factors compared in this study. The fact that salary scales for the various ranks are fixed within institutions is in large part responsible for this correlation. The range of salaries shown in Table III shows that at least a small percentage of women in the higher ranks receive salaries commensurate with their rank.

Two hundred and sixty-one, or 30.9 per cent of the women covered in this present study augment their college salaries in various ways, such as teaching in summer schools, teaching evening and extension classes, tutoring, conducting correspondence courses, grading papers, giving private lessons—music, art, and dramatics, and giving psychological tests. The field of writing and editing provides additional income for a small percentage, as do certain forms of recreational activities, such as camps, playground and gymnasium work. A few work as organists and choir directors, or as accompanists, and a small number

TABLE III—THE DISTRIBUTION OF SALARIES FROM $500 TO $6,999 IN EACH OF FIVE RANKS AND AMONG ADMINISTRATORS

Amount of Salary	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Instructor	Assistant	Administrator
$6,500–6,999	1	..	..	...	..	..
6,000	2	..	..	..	..	..
5,500	..	..	..	..	..	..
5,000	12	1	..	..	..	4
4,500	10	4	..	..	..	..
4,000	28	2	2	..	..	1
3,500	27	14	11	2	1	1
3,000	30	40	28	3	1	4
2,500	29	31	84	21	..	9
2,000	14	9	76	131	2	3
1,500	1	1	12	117	11	4
1,000	1	..	1	14	3	..
500–999	..	..	..	5	6	..
Median	3,546	3,125	2,605	2,040	1,636	2,833
S. D.	912.6	562.9	480.37	394.58	740	1,090

r equals .64.

secure extra income as chaperones of college dormitories. Some resort to business enterprises for compensation, and a few conduct European tours during the summer months. A small percentage carry on research, do designing or practice medicine for additional income.

COMPARISON OF SALARIES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE COLLEGES REPRESENTED

The majority of women reporting were unable to state whether or not their salaries were more than, less than, or equal to the salaries of their male colleagues of the same rank. From those who could report on this question it was learned that the percentage of women in every rank, who receive more salary than their male colleagues, is so small as to be practically negligible. This condition would not be serious if women were paid salaries equal to the salaries paid their male colleagues of the same rank, but only 17.8 per cent of all the women reported that they shared equally with their male colleagues in the matter of salary.

More than one-fourth of the women in every instructional rank and nearly one-half of the Administrators (46.4 per cent) reported that they received less than their male colleagues. Except for Administrators, these facts are not sufficient, however, to justify the conclusion that women college teachers, as a rule, are paid less than their male colleagues of the same rank. Women Administrators are paid less, as a rule, than their male colleagues, and 46.4 per cent of the total number included in this study indicated this condition to be true in their case.

RANK STATUS OF WOMEN COMPARED WITH RANK STATUS OF MEN COLLEAGUES

Certain general observations were made concerning the rank status of men and women, as follows: (1) In the rank of Full Professor men outnumber women two to one; (2) chance for

achieving and holding the rank of Associate Professor is practically the same for men and women; (3) women Assistant Professors outnumber men in the same rank by 23.2 per cent. The large percentage of women in this rank may indicate that (a) it is comparatively easy for women to attain the rank of Assistant Professor, but somewhat difficult to advance beyond it, (b) fewer men hold this rank, the tendency being for them to advance beyond it more rapidly than women, or even to begin at a higher rank; (4) women Instructors outnumber men Instructors by 21.5 per cent, probably for the same reasons as indicated in connection with the rank of Assistant Professor; (5) the percentage of women Assistants is 13.3 per cent larger than the percentage of men Assistants.

TABLE IV—THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN EACH RANK WHO HAVE HELD EACH OF FIVE RANKS

Rank	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Instructor	Assistant
Professor	.....	....	....	....	.....
Associate Professor	36.07	....	....	....	.....
Assistant Professor	25.3	70.8	....	....	.....
Instructor	31.01	43.6	65.7	....	.....
Assistant	4.4	10.6	8.3	17.3	100.0

PROMOTIONS FROM RANK TO RANK

According to Table IV, 36.07 per cent of the Full Professors have held the rank of Associate Professor, 25.3 per cent the rank of Assistant Professor, 31.01 per cent the rank of Instructor, 4.4 per cent the rank of Assistant. From these figures it appears that few Full Professors begin their teaching as Assistants, but that slightly less than one-third have held the rank of Instructor and slightly more than one-third the rank of Associate Professor.

In the rank of Associate Professor, 70.8 per cent have held the rank of Assistant Professor, 43.6 per cent the rank of Instructor, and 10.6 per cent the rank of Assistant. Almost twice as many Associate Professors as Full Professors have held the rank of Assistant Professor, while 12.5 per cent more Associate Professors than Full Professors have been Instructors, and 6.2 per cent more Associate Professors than Full Professors have been Assistants.

Table IV shows also that 65.7 per cent of the Assistant Professors have been Instructors, 22.1 per cent more than Associate Professors, and 35.6 per cent more than Full Professors who have held this rank. Only a small percentage of Assistant Professors have been Assistants, and only 17.3 per cent of the Instructors have been Assistants.

RANK ON ENTERING PRESENT FIELD

Table V shows the percentage of women in each of five ranks who began their college teaching in that rank. The fact that only 35.4 per cent of the Full Professors began their college teaching in that rank means that 64.6 per cent of the Full Professors have had to achieve their position through promotion from rank to rank. Since 27.1 per cent of the Associate Professors began teaching in that rank, 72.9 per cent of the Associate Professors

have had to work up to their present position.

TABLE V—THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN EACH OF FIVE RANKS WHO ENTERED THE ACADEMIC FIELD IN THAT RANK

Rank	Percentage
Professor	35.4
Associate Professor	27.1
Assistant Professor	31.9
Instructor	72.6
Assistant	100.0

Nearly three-fourths of the Instructors began their teaching in that rank (72.6 per cent) leaving only 27.4 per cent to be promoted to the rank of Instructor from the rank of Assistant. Nearly one-third of the Assistant Professors (31.9 per cent) began their college teaching in that rank, leaving 68.2 per cent to be promoted from lower ranks.

These figures indicate the following:

1. Above the rank of Assistant the majority of women college teachers begin as Instructors.

2. Since slightly more than one-third begin as Full Professors, since slightly less than one-third begin as Assistant Professors, and since slightly more than one-fourth begin as Associate Professors, ranks among college teachers are achieved through promotion from rank to rank.

INTERVALS BETWEEN PROMOTIONS

In Table VI may be noted the percentage of promotions from rank to rank, and the average number of years between each promotion. For example, 17.8 per cent of the women here studied were promoted from the rank of Assistant to Instructor after an average interval of 2.3 years, 42.1 per cent were promoted from Instructor to Assistant Professor after an average interval of 4.5 years, 22.8 per cent were promoted from the rank of Assistant Professor to Associate Professor after an average interval of 4.3 years, and 14.5 per cent were promoted from the rank of Associate Professor to Full Professor with an average interval of 4.9 years.

Since only 17.8 per cent of the Assistants were promoted to Instructors, it would appear that the Assistantship is not a necessary stepping stone to the Instructorship. Since 42.1 per cent of the Instructors became Assistant Professors, it would seem that promotion to Assistant Professors among women college teachers is comparatively easy to attain. However, promotions beyond that point seem less likely, since only 22.8 per cent of the Assistant Professors became Associate Professors, and only 14.5 per cent of the Associate Professors became Full Professors.

The average intervals between promotions seem to increase from rank to rank, with the exception of the interval between promotion from the rank of Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. An average of 2.3 years is required to attain promotion from the rank of Assistant to Instructor, an average of 4.5 years from the rank of Instructor to Assistant Professor, and an average of 4.3 years from the rank of Assistant Professor to Associate Professor, an average of 4.9 years from the rank of Associate Professor to Full Professor. According to these figures promotion from one rank to another to the rank of Full Professor requires an average of sixteen years.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What is the status of women college teachers? This question cannot be answered except as all the factors that condition their status are carefully examined. The fact that women in such large numbers are employed in college

TABLE VI—THE PERCENTAGE OF PROMOTIONS FROM RANK TO RANK AND THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS BETWEEN EACH PROMOTION

Rank	Percentage	Average Interval in Years Between Promotions
Assistant to Instructor	17.8	2.3
Instructor to Assistant Professor	42.1	4.5
Assistant Professor to Associate Professor	22.8	4.3
Associate Professor to Professor	14.5	4.9

faculties is an indication that their intellectual worth is recognized and appreciated. However, since such irregularities occur within the same institution and in all the institutions here represented, it is exceedingly difficult to draw any definite conclusions that would be fair to all the institutions and to the women involved. However, in the light of the facts here presented, we may safely conclude the following:

1. Slightly more than one-fourth of all the teachers here considered hold the Ph.D. degree; 4.8 per cent less hold only a Bachelor's degree. Every rank is found to have a varied percentage of the three degrees, Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D.'s. The extent of this range is indicated by the very low correlation between rank and training, .38.

2. Only 18.48 per cent of all the women reporting are working toward advanced degrees, Master's or Ph.D.'s. More Instructors and Assistants are working toward advanced degrees than are any other ranks. A small percentage, 14.70 per cent, have spent any time in foreign study.

3. Of the number of teachers reporting, more than one-half have had experience teaching in elementary and high schools. Less than one-half of the women here studied went into their present position without teaching experience. The correlation, therefore, between rank and years of teaching experience is very low, .47.

4. More than one-third of the women considered in this study have had types of professional experience other than teaching, such as social service work, research and business experience of various types.

5. The median salary for Full Professors is $3,546; for Associate Professors, $3,125; for Assistant Professors, $2,605; for Instructors, $2,040; for Assistants, $1,636; for Administrators, $2,833. Fifty per cent of the Full Professors, 88.3 per cent of the Associate Professors, 93 per cent of the Assistant Professors, 99.3 per cent of the Instructors, and 95.8 per cent of the Assistants, receive less than $3,500. The highest correlation found between any two sets of factors compared in this study is found here, .64.

6. Thirty and nine-tenths per cent of the women considered here augment their salaries in various ways; the highest percentage, 57.08 per cent, resort to some form of educational work, with writing and editing ranking second, 13.02 per cent. The Administrators add an average amount of $925 per year to their salaries, the largest amount added, while Instructors add an average amount of only $394 (the lowest).

7. Forty-nine and three-tenths per cent of the total number of women studied give some statement as to the comparison of their salaries with the salaries of male colleagues. A greater percentage receive less than their male colleagues, excepting the rank of Assistant, than the percentage reporting

that they receive more or the same amount of salary. Only 17.8 per cent report that they share equally with their male colleagues.

8. The fact that only one-third of the Full Professors reporting begin as Full Professors, one-fourth of the Associates as Associate Professors, one-third of the Assistant Professors as Assistant Professors, would indicate that ranks among college teachers are achieved through promotion from rank to rank. The average interval of years between promotions, 2.3 years from Assistant to Instructor, 4.5 years from Instructor to Assistant Professor, 4.3 years from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor, and 4.9 years from Associate Professor to Full Professor, would indicate that these promotions are not easily achieved after one reaches the rank of Instructor. It would appear that the field of college teaching holds comparatively little promise for women. The majority of the women reporting seem to have been retarded or advanced by reason of factors in their institutions, over which they had relatively little control. Training represented in degrees and years of teaching experience contribute little to the advancement of women in the college teaching field, as shown by the low correlations between rank and degrees (.38), and between rank and years of teaching experience (.47).

Women with exceptional ability and proper influence testify to the fact that they were able to rise to a position equal to that of male colleagues, but the rank and file of the respondents seem to have developed a defensive attitude bordering on martyrdom, and complained, waxed bitter, and voiced resentment toward the conditions of which they were victims.

The Position of Women in the Public Schools

By Charl Williams
Field Secretary, The National Education Association

TEACHING in the public schools has become essentially a woman's vocation. In fact, when we speak of a classroom teacher we invariably speak of "her," for there are approximately six women teachers to every man in the elementary schools, while in the secondary schools the women instructors outnumber the men about two to one.

With such a preponderance of the teaching positions within their ranks, what is the status of the 700,000 women employed in our public schools? Are they able to command as high salaries as men holding equal responsibility? Are they making professional progress? Are they finding opportunities for advancement? Are they meeting their civic and social responsibilities as leaders of the community?

Women Administrators

Because of the numerical preponderance of women in the teaching profession, it might be expected that women would hold a majority of administrative positions in education. On the contrary, they are far in the minority except in the matter of the elementary school principalship, which is coming to be a woman's position for the most part.

The comparatively small number of women in administrative positions, as well as the relatively small responsibility of their positions, is due largely to the tradition against women executives, either in business or professions. Of course, the excuse is given that women teachers have been insufficiently prepared for administrative work and that they have not been permanent in their profession, but such charges do not apply to the majority of those women teachers who seek administrative promotions.

That women educators do have real administrative ability has been satisfactorily demonstrated by those pioneers who have served as public school principals and superintendents or as college deans and presidents. Women hold important positions as educational specialists in the United States Bureau of Education and in the Federal Board for Vocational Education. At present women head the state departments of education in six states—Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Montana, North Dakota and Wyoming.

The Educational Directory for 1928 listed nine women as assistant or deputy state superintendents. It is significant that all of these and the majority of the 900 women county superintendents were in states west of the Mississippi.

In the same directory forty-five women are listed as city superintendents, 169 as secondary school principals; and 1,866 as principals of elementary schools. Only as principals of elementary schools do women outnumber men in executive positions, although the teaching profession in secondary and elementary schools is primarily in the hands of women.

Responsibilities of Profession

Such discrimination against women in the executive and better paid positions is discouraging to young women who are contemplating entering the teaching profession. The desired changes will scarcely be effected, however, until the teacher recognizes more fully her

civic responsibilities. Not only does she have the duty of training the citizens of the future, but she must exercise her obligations as a citizen, locally and in the state and nation. The professional and economic advancement of teachers is affected by educational legislation such as local bond issues and state laws for tenure and retirement. Nationally, there are many educational matters of importance, chief of which is the movement for creation of a federal Department of Education, to give deserved recognition to the schools of our country and provide a national clearing house for educational problems. Without the teachers' active support for this movement, congressmen will not be inclined to give it the attention it merits, and promotion of our national educational welfare will be delayed.

ECONOMIC POSITION

The argument that the teacher is repaid by her love for service has long been heard, but we cannot expect her to continue to go on without economic reward. Perhaps she will never be so well paid as women in other occupations requiring the same amount of preparation, for most public service is notably underpaid. However, she has made considerable progress in the past decade in the matter of salary, and further improvement may be expected as the public comes to realize the importance of education to our national life. Already a number of city school systems have adopted salary schedules which provide maximum salaries high enough to encourage capable men and women to stay in teaching. In spite of these few exceptions, however, teachers' salaries, compared with those paid members of most other professions, are small.

An investigation conducted in New York state by the National Industrial Conference Board brought out the fact that while the average total income for the 5,167 teachers reporting was $2,567 (in 1920), a larger percentage of teachers were working for annual salaries of $1,000 to $2,000 than for any higher wage. Of persons in public service, medicine, law, the church, architecture and the theater, those receiving less than $2,000 annually ranged from 47.1 per cent to 26.3 per cent, while 47.3 per cent of the teachers of the state were included in this low salary classification. Less than one-fourth of the persons in accounting, art, literature and engineering had incomes lower than $2,000.[1]

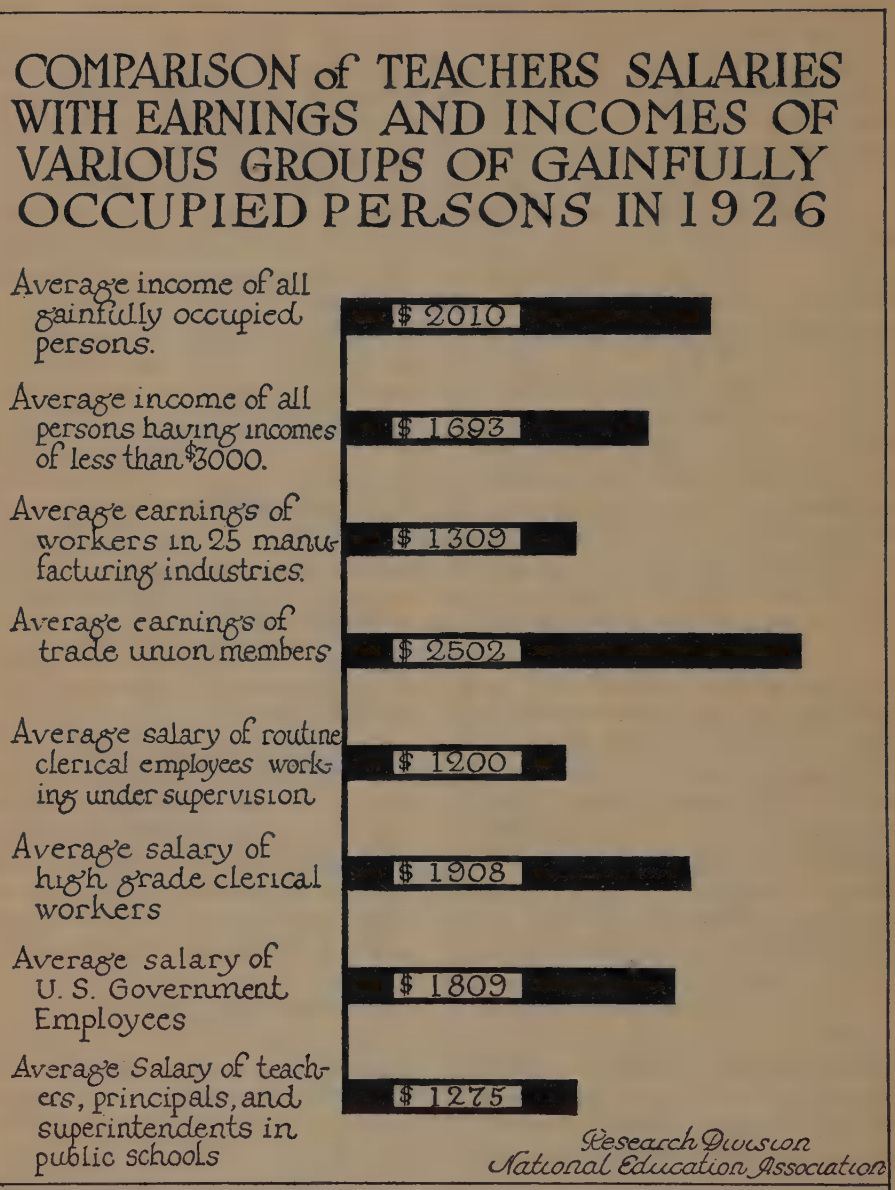
Not only is the average teachers' salary in the United States lower than the average salary for members of other professions, but it is lower than the average salary of all gainfully occupied persons. In 1926 the latter figure was estimated at $2,010, while the average salary for public school teachers, including principals, superintendents and other administrative officers, was only $1,275.

Even this figure, small as it is represents real progress, for in 1913 the average salary of the nation's teachers was only $512. Of course, not all of this increase represents an actual improvement in purchasing power, but after correction is made for the increased cost of living, the 1926 salary is still 42 per cent higher than that of 1913. During this same period the average income of all gainfully employed persons had made a gain of only 33 per cent in purchasing power.[2] The economic disadvantages of the teaching profession are growing lighter.

Teaching, however, is not yet paid proportionately to the cost of preparation for this calling. For instance, a young girl, upon graduation from high school, may be inclined to take up stenography, rather than teaching, be-

[1] *Conference Board Bulletin*, April 15, 1928.

[2] *Journal of the National Education Association*, Feb., 1928, p. 55.



Read table thus: The average income of the 44,600,000 gainfully occupied persons in the United States in 1926 was $2010. Similarly read figures for other groups of workers.

Sources of data: These figures based upon a number of income and wage investigations cited in the May, 1927 Research Bulletin of the National Education Association.

From *Research Bulletin of National Education Association*, Volume V, No. 3, May, 1927.

cause she finds that after a year's training and three or four years' experience she can easily earn twenty-five dollars a week in an office, while the teacher must spend two to four years beyond high school graduation in a teachers' college or university before beginning to earn anything. Then, instead of receiving additional compensation for the longer years of preparation, she enters a profession in which the average salary is less than twenty-five dollars a week.

PROFESSIONAL WAGE RARE

True, teaching positions open to trained people usually offer better salaries than this. The number of positions paying a professional wage, however, is comparatively small. Approximately 175,000 of the teachers of the country are receiving $1,800 or more per year, that is, thirty-five dollars or more a week. This gives the new teacher one chance in five to receive as much as thirty-five dollars a week. If she teaches in one of our 168,000 one-room rural schools she will find the average salary is only $755. Half the teachers in these schools receive less than $735 per year, or less than fifteen dollars a week.[3]

Excluding rural teachers from consideration, the typical salary for all urban school workers is only about $1,770. This figure would be even lower if it were not for the fact that this group includes high school principals in cities of over 100,000 population, who receive an average salary of $4,813, as well as superintendents and supervisors. Of the city teachers, the lowest paid are those in elementary schools in cities of 2,500 to 5,000 in population who receive an average of $1,176 annually.[4]

High school teachers in cities of from 30,000 to 100,000 are the only ones, a majority of whom receives an income above the average salary of the nation, as a whole, and the majority here is but 60 per cent. Most cities of this size require college graduation as a qualification for high school teaching. This means that a teacher must have a college degree in order to earn a salary equal to that received by gainfully occupied persons in general, while college graduates, in other lines of work, generally earn incomes distinctly above the average of all gainfully occupied people.[5]

While the cost of living is somewhat lower in cities of 10,000 to 30,000, the average salary received by high school teachers is correspondingly lower, being only 90 per cent of the average income of the nation's gainfully employed. Even in cities of 5,000 to 10,000 population, the majority of high school teachers are college graduates, yet their average income is but 83 per cent of that enjoyed by the nation as a whole. The median salary of high school teachers in cities of 2,500 to 5,000 population is only $1,550.[6]

Junior high school salaries lack from $200 to $300, on an average, of equaling the amount paid senior high school teachers, the greater difference being in the cities of over 100,000 in population.[7]

SALARY SCHEDULES

Since the peak year of 1922, when the average teacher's salary amounted to 74 per cent of the average wage for all occupied persons, teachers' salaries have increased less rapidly than incomes in general. During 1927–28 the great majority of cities over 10,000

[3] National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 4, Sept., 1926.

[4] *Journal of the National Education Association*, March, 1928, p. 85.

[5] National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, March, 1927.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN SALARIES PAID MEN AND WOMEN IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Are There Positions in Which Men Receive Higher Salaries than Women of Equal Training and Experience?	66 Cities Over 100,000 in Population		161 Cities 30,000 to 100,000 in Population		326 Cities 10,000 to 30,000 in Population		397 Cities 5,000 to 10,000 in Population		582 Cities 2,500 to 5,000 in Population		1,532 Cities Over 2,500 in Population	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*
Yes	14	21.2	83	51.6	206	63.2	259	65.2	346	59.5	908	59.3
No	51	77.3	75	46.5	112	34.4	135	34.0	219	37.6	592	38.6
No report	1	1.5	3	1.9	8	2.4	3	.8	17	2.9	32	2.1
Total	66	100.0	161	100.0	326	100.0	397	100.0	582	100.0	1,532	100.0
Positions in which men are paid higher salaries than women of equal training and experience:												
Elementary school teachers	2*	....	11	....	16	....	30	....	42	....	101	....
Junior high school teachers	3	....	52	....	90	....	97	....	95	....	337	....
Senior high school teachers	12*	....	77	....	175	....	229	....	279	....	772	....
Elementary school principals	2	....	30	....	53	....	61	....	83	....	229	....
Junior high school principals	1	....	15	....	46	....	48	....	67	....	177	....
Senior high school principals	4	....	21	....	60	....	100	....	149	....	334	....
Cities having rules requiring salaries of men and women of equal training and experience holding similar positions:												
To be the same	37	56.1	52	32.3	91	27.9	77	19.4	110	18.9	366	23.9
To be different	4	6.1	19	11.8	43	13.2	33	8.3	20	3.4	119	7.8
No rule	24	36.3	87	54.0	188	57.7	285	71.8	436	74.9	1,021	66.6
No report	1	1.5	3	1.9	4	1.2	2	.5	16	2.8	26	1.7
Total	66	100.0	161	100.0	326	100.0	397	100.0	582	100.0	1,532	100.0
Nature of statute or rule effecting salaries paid men and women:												
State law	16	39.0	24	33.8	54	40.3	50	45.5	64	49.3	198	40.8
City ordinance	1	2.4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	.2
Rule of the board of education	5	12.2	14	19.7	23	17.2	18	16.4	18	13.8	78	16.1
Local salary schedule	17	41.5	31	43.7	48	35.8	38	34.5	32	24.6	173	35.7
No report	2	4.9	2	2.8	9	6.7	4	3.6	16	12.3	35	7.2
Total	41	100.0	71	100.0	134	100.0	110	100.0	130	100.0	485	100.0

Read table as follows: Fourteen or 21.2 per cent of the 66 cities over 100,000 in population replying, reported as having positions within their school systems in which men receive higher salaries than women of equal training and experience; 51, or 77.3 per cent reported as not having positions paying higher salaries to men; 1 city left this question blank.

The following positions were reported the following number of times, by the fourteen cities reporting positions in which men receive higher salaries than women of equal training and experience: elementary school teachers, 2; junior high school teachers, 3; senior high school teachers, 12; elementary school principals, 2; junior high school principals, 1; and senior high school principals, 4.

Of the 66 cities over 100,000 replying, 37, or 56.1 per cent reported as having rules requiring salaries of men and women of equal training and experience holding similar positions to be the same; 4, or 6.1 per cent reported as having rules requiring the salaries to be different; 24, or 36.3 per cent reported as having no rules governing this provision; and 1 city left this question blank.

Of the 41 cities reporting as having rules requiring salaries of men and women of equal training and experience holding similar positions to be either the same or different. 16, or 39.0 per cent, reported that this rule was governed by state law; 1, or 2.4 per cent, reported city ordinance, 5, or 12.2 per cent, reported rule of the board of education; 17, or 41.5 per cent, reported local salary schedule; and 2 cities left this question blank.

Similarly read data for other population groups.

Foot-note:

* One city stated that this applied to "colored only."

From *Research Bulletin of National Education Association*, Vol. VI, No. 4, September, 1928

in population made no changes in their salary schedules; only about 20 per cent adopted schedules paying higher salaries.

While approximately all cities over 30,000 in population have adopted definite salary schedules, only about 150 cities have the single salary schedule principle in practice. This makes salary entirely dependent on training and experience, rather than on the grade taught, and permits the college graduate who prefers an elementary grade to continue in that work at the same salary she would receive if a high school teacher.

Special qualifications, such as the acquisition of additional professional training, may make the teacher eligible for a supermaximum salary in some cities. Superior efficiency ratings, extra duties and length of service are

other considerations entering into the granting of such salaries.

SALARIES PAID MEN AND WOMEN

Compared with the salaries of men teachers, women's salaries are generally one-fourth less. Of the 1,532 cities replying to a questionnaire sent out by the National Education Association, 908 or 59 per cent indicated positions in their schools in which men receive higher salaries than women of equal training and experience. This percentage is not representative for the larger cities, however, as 77 per cent of the cities of over 100,000 and 46 per cent of those from 30,000 to 100,000 reporting, indicated that they did not have such inequalities in salary.

One state—New York—and a number of cities have laws stipulating that there shall be no difference in teachers' salaries on account of sex. However, the law of supply and demand works in such a way that women teachers can often be secured at lower salaries than men of equal training and experience.

Often the argument is raised that women should not be paid as highly as men since they are only transient workers, using the school as a sort of "hope chest." The recent study of teachers' salaries in Minneapolis, like those in other cities, discredited such charges by showing that one-third of the teachers—both women and men—were at the maximum salary, meaning that they must have reached 35 years of age, with normal adult responsibilities.

Equally unfair is the claim that women need less pay since they have fewer dependents. Frequently, even young girls must supplement the family income, while salary surveys, in every case, have brought out the fact that women teachers have nearly as many dependents as men. Usually the women are supporting parents, or other adult relatives, with the result that the burden is not decreased with the years as it is when children reach maturity. The number of widowed mothers who teach adds to the proportion of dependents for whom women teachers are responsible.

While women high school teachers have more dependents than any other group, the percentage of high school instructors with dependents is only slightly greater than that of the lowest paid elementary teachers. Among Minneapolis teachers, far more unmarried women than unmarried men had dependents, the number being 102 and two respectively. As would be expected, more than twice as many married men teachers had dependents as did married women.

To provide for additional members of the family, it has been proposed that salaries be increased according to the number of dependents, as is done in southwestern Europe, where miners are paid according to the number of children in their families. Application of this practice to the teaching profession has been considered unfair to the taxpayer and would probably result in preference being given to teachers without dependents. Consequently, the number of dependents has been taken into consideration in adopting teachers' salary schedules only to such an extent that it has been attempted to raise all salaries to a point where they are sufficient for the support of teachers, with or without dependents, in comfort and respectability.

STANDARD OF LIVING AND SUPPLEMENTARY EARNINGS

The standard of living for teachers is comparatively high, as might be expected from their training and interests. Besides the actual necessities of life, every teacher wants money for books, for travel, for entertainment, and she must have funds for additional

study. All of this adds to her expenses. If she is to meet these demands she must either have an adequate salary or additional income. At Minneapolis it was found that teachers earned, by outside jobs, 14 to 28 per cent of the amount of their salaries. At Pittsburgh the average income derived from personal services was but thirty-one dollars among elementary teachers, while the average outside earnings of the regular women teachers in the junior and senior high schools were sixty-five dollars and seventy-one dollars respectively. Special women teachers in these schools earned about $100 from work outside the schools. Of the elementary teachers 12.8 per cent reported outside earnings, while 27 per cent of the junior and senior high school women had some such income.

This means that teachers must either carry on double work during the school year, thus decreasing their efficiency in the classroom, or they must use their summer vacation period for remunerative purposes rather than for professional improvement.

Housing Conditions

Among the lower paid teachers many find that their salaries would be most inadequate if it were not that they live with parents or relatives at small expense. Over half the Pittsburgh elementary teachers have such living arrangements, but fewer junior and senior high school teachers follow this plan. This group, for the most part, rent rooms or apartments, either furnished or unfurnished.

In rural neighborhoods the teacher's housing presents a more serious problem. Comfortable living quarters are often difficult to find, and an increase in the teacher's salary is frequently a signal for such an increased charge for room rent and board that the teacher herself receives no benefit from the higher salary. To meet this situation many school districts have erected teacherages, near the school, where the teacher may live independently and comfortably. The practice varies with regard to charging rent, some districts giving the house without cost to the teacher, while others charge a minimum rental. Where there are several teachers at a school, the young women live together, usually with a housekeeper in charge of the management of their home. The plan has been successful in securing and keeping more competent teachers, although some teachers object to living with the people with whom they work all day in the school. In most localities, however, the advantages of lower cost to the teacher and greater opportunity for freedom of action are cited.

Approximately three-fourths of all such teachers' homes reported in 1922, when a survey was made by the Bureau of Education, were in the states: Texas, Oklahoma, California, Colorado, Mississippi, Washington, Idaho, North Dakota, Louisiana, and Montana.[8]

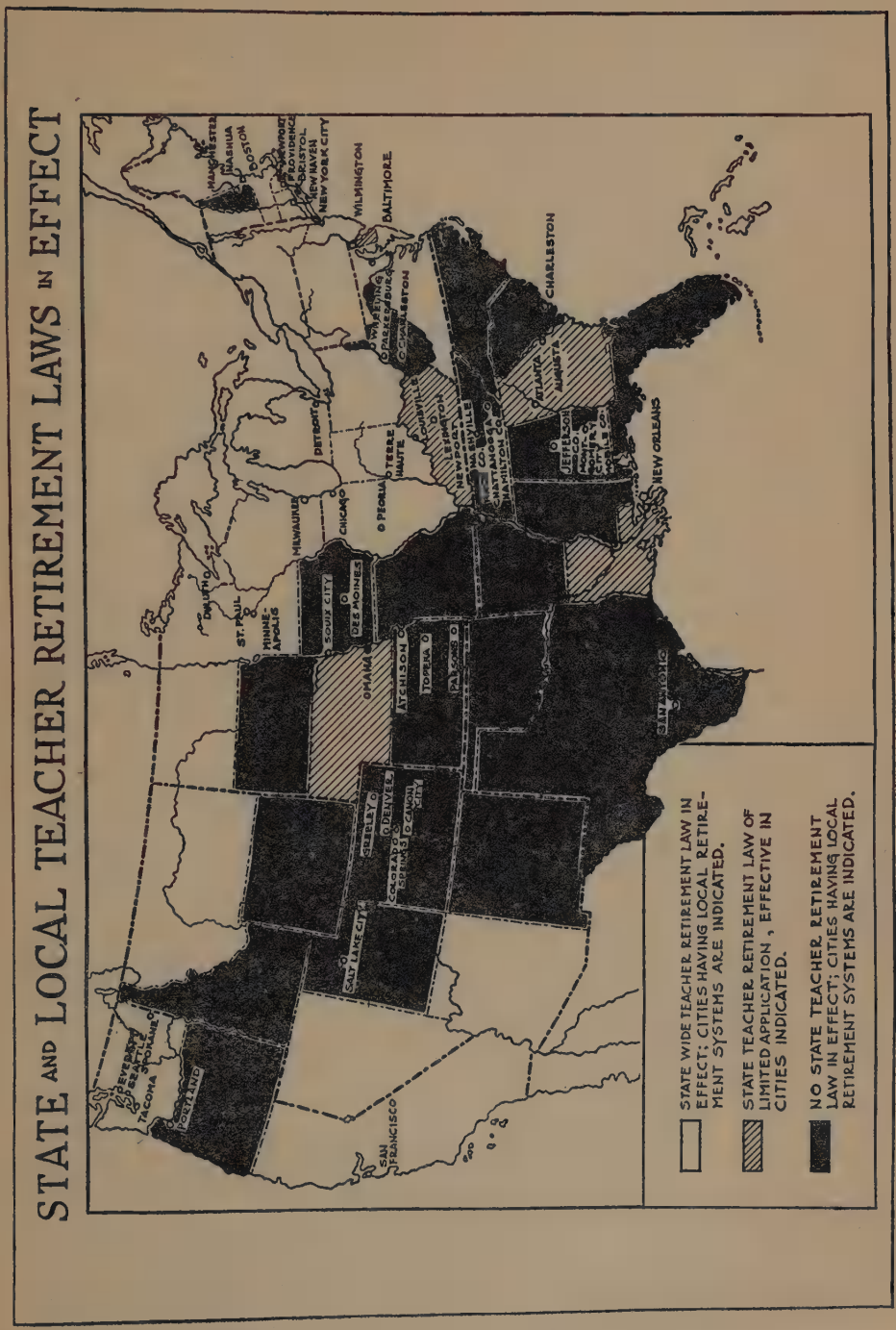
In many other rural communities having consolidated schools the teachers are provided transportation without cost to themselves.

Substitutes for Higher Salaries

Other substitutes for higher teachers' salaries are the various types of retirement plans. Teachers should, of course, be paid a sufficiently high salary to provide for their old age. At present, when practically all public service is underpaid, this idea seems Utopian. To meet the situation, retirement plans have been introduced.

Progress in this direction during the past thirty years has been rapid. Twenty-two states and two territories, with approximately 60 per cent of the

[8] United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin No. 16*, 1922.



From *Research Bulletin of National Education Association*, Volume VI, No. 3, May, 1928.

teachers of the nation, have adopted state-wide retirement systems open to all teachers. State or local retirement systems applicable to teachers in certain communities exist in seventeen other states. Few states are without some form of teacher retirement.

An effort is made to provide that the retirement allowance shall be adequate for the ex-teacher to maintain a respectable standard of living. This makes each year of teaching service a step toward independence in old age, the assurance of which lengthens the period of teaching efficiency by relieving the teacher's mind of the fear of a destitute old age. The plan protects school children from teachers rendered incompetent by disability or advanced age. It gives a better guarantee of promotion within the profession, and thus attracts capable young people into the schools. It makes outside employment unnecessary as a means of providing for old age, and gives the teacher an opportunity to invest in study and travel without endangering her provision for later years.

Cost of a retirement system is usually met jointly by the teachers and the public. The present tendency is to consider each teacher's deposit her personal property, rather than to pool all contributions. Consequently, teachers leaving the service before the regular retirement age may secure all money accumulated in their accounts. Thirty years' service is the usual requirement for retirement, although disability benefits are payable before that time. In most cases membership in the pension system is made optional for those teachers in service at the time of its establishment, but is compulsory for new teachers. Teaching experience in another school system usually is credited toward retirement, although this is not always the case where the retirement plan is local rather than state-wide.

Personal savings of teachers vary in amount according to the salary received, the number of dependents, and the individual's ability to economize, just as they do with any other group of wage earners. No doubt, were it not for retirement plans, many teachers would reach old age without any means of support. Others, more provident, and perhaps more fortunate in the way of salary, accumulate a sizable income from regular investment of 10 per cent or more of their income in savings accounts, investment bonds and stocks, or real estate.

Home owning is not so common with women as men teachers. In Pittsburgh less than one-fifth of the high school women teachers reporting to the salary investigations committee stated that they owned their homes.

Payment of teachers' salaries on a twelve-month basis has gained some popularity as a means of helping the teacher provide for the summer months, but the plan is far from general in practice.

HOURS OF WORK

Just as the teacher's monthly salary, on the school year basis, has led the public to overestimate her true income, so have her short hours in the classroom resulted in a misconception of her actual hours of labor. Long hours are required for the preparation of the next day's lessons and class plans, while even more time is frequently spent in grading papers. Moreover, in the smaller cities teachers often have an undue amount of clerical duties, but these are being cut to a minimum in the more advanced school systems.

On the other hand, the teacher has long summer vacations for study and travel. It must be remembered, however, that the necessary relaxation from

teaching is not always gained if the teacher must spend too great a proportion of her vacation periods in the pursuit of professional credits required for promotion.

TEACHER TENURE

While the teacher's status, both professionally and economically is improving in many ways, one of the principal causes of teacher dissatisfaction and resulting loss to the schools, is insecurity of tenure. This has made every teacher without a position at the end of each school year, no matter how good her work may have been. The situation is well summed up in this statement:

> Compared with employees in other lines of work, the school teacher, under the annual-election plan, is not accorded the tenure of position given to street or steam-railway employees, general business employees, policemen, firemen, or government clerks. None of these have to apply over and over for positions which they have been filling acceptably nor run the chance of annual election with its attendant accidents and surprises.[9]

Under such circumstances, and considering the comparatively low salaries of teachers, it is not surprising that more than 100,000, or 16 per cent, of our teachers leave the profession every year. This rate ranges from 4 per cent in Florida to 47 per cent in Wyoming.[10] Other thousands change from one position to another annually, and less than 5 per cent of the teachers of the country practice twenty years. Elementary school teachers in cities average more experience than high school teachers or rural school teachers.

Dr. William C. Bagley of Teachers College, Columbia University, has graphically pictured this weakness of the schools. He describes the teachers of the country as filing past in an imaginary line, more than 300 miles long. As we review the line we discover that 150,000 teachers have passed before the first individual is reached who has taught more than two years, while the middle of the line is reached before we notice the first teacher of four years' experience.

In an effort to correct unfair practices of insecure employment, permanent tenure laws have been enacted by thirteen states and the District of Columbia. New Jersey passed the first such legislation in 1910. Other states having such laws are California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin. In the majority of these commonwealths the tenure law is not state-wide in its application, but is limited to the larger cities.

Advocates of permanent tenure say that this plan stabilizes the teaching profession and stimulates growth of teachers. On the other hand, its opponents—and this group includes some distinguished educational thinkers—argue that permanent tenure gives teachers an inclination to take their positions for granted and lessens their own efforts toward scientific study of teaching and professional growth.

Dr. Ellwood P. Cubberley, dean of the School of Education, Stanford University, says "Annual reëmployment and life tenure represent two extremes in the matter of teachers' employment, and there is no necessity for having either." As a substitute he suggests probationary employment followed by indeterminate tenure. Dr. George D. Strayer, of Teachers College, Columbia University, also advocates a probationary period followed by indeterminate tenure, dependent on the

[9] "What is the Matter with Teaching?" *The Delineator*, Oct., 1925.

[10] National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 5, Nov., 1924.

teachers meeting the advancing standards of the profession.

As Dr. Cubberley points out, under tenure laws it has been difficult to dismiss teachers for incompetence, because this is a charge not easily proven. The result has been that the schools have suffered in some instances.

In order to determine the facts regarding the application of permanent tenure laws the National Education Association for several years has had a committee investigating this matter. Such facts must be well established, leaders of the association believe, before a sound policy of state legislation for greater stability in the teaching profession can be recommended. At present, the committee has under way, a five-year study of schools in Massachusetts and New Jersey, where the oldest tenure laws exist, and a similar study in Indiana and Minnesota, where tenure laws are newest.

MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS

Closely allied to the matter of tenure is the question of whether married women should be employed as new teachers, or if single women teachers who marry should be allowed to continue in their positions. These questions have been the subject of much discussion and some research.

A survey of opinion on this subject, based on 954 school superintendents' replies to a questionnaire, was published in the *American Educational Digest* for October, 1926. Viewpoints varied widely. Some superintendents stated that the teacher's experience should not be sacrificed by the schools simply because she has married. Others answered that to retain married teachers is unfair to young girls entering the profession at this time when an oversupply of teachers exists.

Some stated that the married teacher is more conscientious, while others testified to the contrary, saying that after marriage, the teacher loses interest in her work. One admitted that, while the quality of the teacher's work remains good, after marriage, he will not employ married women because he is "old-fashioned enough to think that, when a woman marries, she should make a home."

The answers to the questionnaire regarding whether married women with equal training and experience are as efficient as unmarried women were as follows:

Yes	597	63 per cent
No	174 "	18 "
Conditional	141 "	15 "
Married women more efficient	42 "	4 "
Total	954 "	100 "

Five states and the District of Columbia have adjudicated the question of marriage as a bar to teaching.[11] In every case the decision handed down has held that in itself marriage is not a valid cause for the dismissal of a teacher who is under contract, or who is teaching under a tenure law which allows dismissal only for specified causes.

Data for the city of Cleveland, collected by George E. Carrothers in his *Physical Efficiency of Teachers*,[12] indicate that married women teachers are subject to a slightly greater amount of illness than single women.

THE SICK LEAVE PROBLEM

This whole question of illness among teachers is an important one, both to the teacher and the school. On the whole, investigations of the problem reveal the fact that teachers as a group are absent from work a comparatively small number of days a year. Although

[11] *School and Society*, Oct. 1, 1927, p. 435.

[12] Carrothers, George E., *Physical Efficiency of Teachers*, Contributions to Education No. 155, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

the amount of absence due to illness is approximately twice as much among women teachers as among men,[13] the same relationship holds in other occupations.

That the great majority of cities now grant teachers sick leave, with some salary, is indicated by the fact that such arrangements are made in 91 per cent of the 1,532 cities reporting to the National Education Association on this question. Most cities reporting allow such leave with full salary. In some communities the cumulative policy for sick leave is in effect. It works to the advantage of the teacher in case of a long illness after years of comparatively good health, and encourages regularity of attendance.

Prevention, of course, is better than cure. We find teachers recognizing this fact more and more. The "nervous breakdown every five years" theory has been outgrown. Instead we find the wise teacher participating in gymnasium work and making sure that her summer, whether spent in study or play, will be a period of relaxation and recreation.

[13] United States Bureau of Education, *School Health Studies No. 12*, 1926.

EDUCATION A GREAT BUSINESS

All in all, this "school business" is a most important one. We find that it includes approximately two persons out of every seven when we remember that in addition to pupils and teachers, there are thousands of school officers and other persons, employed in educational work of all kinds. Because women make up so large a part of these educators, their responsibility toward the schools is especially great.

Education has become a science; our schools have become a big business. It remains for the teaching profession, with its hundreds of thousands of women members, to coördinate these two great interests.

Women in Odd and Unusual Fields of Work[1]

By Miriam Simons Leuck
Lecturer and Author, *Fields of Work for Women*

When, within the space of a single day, one can ride in a taxi driven by a woman, directed by traffic signals designed by a woman, to the office of a woman engineer, there to look out of the window and observe a woman steeplejack at her trade, or contemplate the task of the woman blacksmith whose forge was passed on the way, there can seem to remain few odd and unusual fields which women have not already entered and conquered for their own. Ten years ago a woman in Wall Street was an oddity; today women in Wall Street are almost as frequently met as on Fifth Avenue. The first woman realtor caused quite a flurry less than a decade ago, but today it is indeed a small and unprogressive town which cannot boast at least one member of the sex engaged in this work.

There are, however, still pioneers, and the steeplejack and blacksmith have few feminine associates in their trades, while it has remained for some women not only to storm gates previously opened only to men, but to blaze entirely new pathways, creating professions hitherto unknown to either sex. In any case, such accomplishments gain significance, aside from their personal interest, only through the way such women at work may influence the lives of other girls or women or may affect a trade as a whole.

To this end, the object in making this study has been not only to discover the various unusual fields being exploited by women today, but to learn, from these women, what led them to choose the path they have followed, what associations have assisted them, how hard the road has been, and how another woman could follow their example. Aside from such definite information about individual fields, it is hoped that the records of these accomplishments may encourage the girl or woman who does not find her particular goal recorded here to copy the spirit, profit by these triumphs and mistakes, and pioneer in other ports.

Certain groups have been arbitrarily excluded from this study, because, although individuals might have unusual work, their task was part of a widespread profession. Such are the teachers of unusual subjects or in out-of-the-way places, women physicians in highly specialized branches, authors, unless their other experience constituted their claim to originality, etc. Of course such arbitrary classification will work unfairness in individual cases, but on the other hand there are women in strange posts who cannot be presented because their feminine identity is hidden behind initials, and discovered only to the few who come in contact with them. Such disguise is much more unusual today than it was ten years ago, but in some new fields—that of commercial aviation for instance—Susan Jane becomes plain S. J. Brown by correspondence.

According to the census of 1920, of the 572 occupations there listed, women were engaged in 537 of them, including

[1] The author wishes to thank those women whose answers to her questions have made this article possible, and in particular to express her gratitude to Helen Havener, editor of *The Independent Woman*.

such occupations as trapper, horse-trader, banker, technician, undertaker, lumberwoman, paperhanger, freight agent, street-car conductor, switchmen and flagmen, railroad laborer (over six thousand), longshoremen, stevedore, boatman, and deckhands. In fact, a list of the occupations in which women were not at that time engaged might prove more enlightening. Such a list for 1920 included raftsmen, wood-choppers, apprentices in the trades of boiler-maker, cabinet maker, mason, plasterer, plumber, smeltermen, ladler, pressman and plate printer, roofer and slater, structural iron worker, brakeman, railway conductor, locomotive engineer or fireman, railway mail clerk, mining engineer, coachman, footman, and members of fire departments, or of the forces of the soldiers, sailors, or marine corps. A few of these untrodden paths have been invaded since 1920.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Political life was just beginning to beckon to women ten years ago. The fall elections of 1928 left us with 119 women acting as state representative, twelve serving as state senator, and seven as members of the national House of Representatives. In addition, Florida has a woman railroad commissioner; Idaho, a woman superintendent of Public Instruction; Arizona, a woman state auditor. Other women are serving in the following capacities: Superintendent of public instruction in Montana, Iowa, and North Dakota; state treasurer in Indiana and North Dakota; secretary of state in Kentucky, South Dakota, and Texas; reporter for the Supreme and Appellate courts in Indiana; clerk of the Supreme Court in Minnesota; commissioner of public welfare in North Carolina; and judge of the Supreme Court in Ohio. Of course they are also holding hundreds of county and municipal posts throughout the country.

Politics, as such, then, has ceased to be an unusual field for women, and they must do unusual jobs in the government service if they are to indicate originality. A survey conducted by the United States Woman's Bureau in 1925 indicated that today all government posts are open to women, that women are holding five out of a possible eighty-two positions as bureau head or commissioner, that eighty-seven women are engaged in laboratory research, and that the highest salary paid to a woman under the civil service commission at the time was $6,500.

Some of the appointive posts secured by women are more distinctive. Mrs. Mabel Reinecke, Director of Internal Revenue in the Chicago area, collects more than $200,000,000 yearly for the Federal Government. Mrs. Reinecke, whose office staff numbers 500 employees, is one of the greatest authorities on taxation in the United States. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, is too well known for her work to need elaboration. Mrs. D. Tillinghast of Boston, a suffrage and party worker, has served as immigration commissioner, and Felice Cohn of Reno, Nevada, is the only woman trustee in bankruptcy cases in the United States. Several women have been appointed in the customs service, among the most outstanding being Mrs. Jeanette A. Hyde, Collector of Customs at the port of Honolulu, and Genevieve Cline, who rose from the position of appraiser of merchandise at the port of Cleveland to that of associate justice of the United States Customs Court, where she commands the largest salary paid to any woman by the government.

Practically all of these women had

extensive business experience before their appointment, and several were law school graduates. Women have also entered the diplomatic and consular service in recent years in considerable numbers, taking this field from the ranks of the unusual.

OUT-OF-DOOR OCCUPATIONS

Perhaps the most interesting of the out-of-the-way posts chosen by women are those involving outdoor work, usually heavy, manual work, inevitably associated with the masculine worker. Some of the tasks which women are doing in out-of-door occupations are unusual simply because they are done in America; older lands have long considered them a part of women's work. Others are truly strange in any surrounding, particularly in feminine hands.

There is, for instance, the business conducted by Helen Caldwell and Evelyn Wager, the former a West Virginia girl, the latter a graduate of the University of Minnesota. Miss Caldwell, in company with her first partner, a girl who has since married and left the business, became interested in a campaign being conducted by their state to exterminate rats. Health departments, civic clubs, and a host of public and semi-public agencies were trying to stamp out these pests. Hardly an attractive field for two young girls, it would seem. But these girls were also anxious to travel, whereupon they decided to combine public service and private profit. They equipped an automobile to be used as a traveling exterminating station, adopting the government formula and technique, and set out on the road. On arriving in a community they consult the city health authorities, Rotary clubs, etc., offer to give a demonstration of their effectiveness, and wait for orders. That their waiting is profitable is shown by the fact that another girl has entered the partnership.

But not only youth possesses the attributes of originality, initiative, and willingness to do strange things and meet strange people needed for success in these out-of-the-way jobs. Mrs. Sophie Penkinson, just around the corner from Broadway, has worked at her chosen field of horseshoeing and general blacksmith work for over thirty years. As a bride, in Russia, she watched her youthful groom at the forge, and decided that what her husband could do, she should learn also. When her husband died, she was not, therefore, left without a trade, but was able to carry on the business he had established in the new country. Mrs. Penkinson shoes an average of ten horses a day, declares she has never found a horse that was hard to handle, and gives her knowledge of animals and her fondness for them equal credit with her technical ability for her success.

While she cares for the needs of the horse, other women, in various parts of the country, are building profits out of the automobile and airplane. When a Philadelphia taxi company, two years ago, installed women as day drivers, the innovation was good for a story in every newspaper in the country. Today women are managing bus and taxi companies in a dozen different localities. Two bus companies under feminine management are the Chicago-Indianapolis line, operated and owned by Mrs. Alice Carrier, and the Hoquiam, Washington Company, which developed a daily schedule of 2,700 miles of de luxe stage travel from a short-run lumber-camp business, under the supervision of Mrs. Emma Coldiron.

One of the most important features of the newer woman in business is the manner in which she makes her sex an asset rather than a liability. Mrs.

Charlotte Sculthorpe of Maplewood, New Jersey, owner and operator, has specialized in this attitude. When, because of the illness of her husband, the family finances became her particular problem, she took stock of her talents and found that automobile driving seemed the only one with possibilities. She realized, however, that many people might hesitate to employ a woman driver, considering her less dependable than a man; whereupon she determined to emphasize rather than apologize for her sex. To this end she specialized in doing those errands which women would rather trust to another woman, such as meeting relatives at trains, taking children to school, doing marketing, etc. As a result, she built up a business of nine cars, with a reputation for dependability which is unassailed.

Ethel Christoffersen of Hamlin, Iowa, does not run cars; she tends to them. Necessity, which is responsible for so many of the odd jobs which women have chosen, forced her to help out with the family income. An oil station near her home was failing. She took it over and has made a decided success of the business, doing any of the tasks connected with serving automobiles which a man might do in her place.

The traveler abroad frequently sees a woman station agent or flagman, but such glimpses are more rare in this country. Mrs. Bella B. Toner at New Centerville, on the Philadelphia and Chester Branch of the Reading Railroad, is a veteran in railroad work, having been station agent, baggage master, telegrapher and flagman at her post for the past fifty-one years, ever since her marriage to the track boss of that section. On the other coast Mrs. Etta M. Hopkins, in charge of the Fort Wright tower (near Spokane, Washington) of the Great Northern Railroad, has a real man's job, throwing the levers which open and close the switches, changing the signals, handing up train orders, and in general caring for the welfare of her part of the system. She has handled this job for thirteen years, in addition to having homesteaded her own farm.

But women have not been willing to stay on the ground when they entered the transportation field, for the new world of aviation is receiving them in large numbers. It is impossible to give any statistics regarding women with pilot's licenses, etc., for before this article was published they would be wholly out of date, but the number of women engaged in the various branches of commercial aviation is large and increasing rapidly.

Hardly outdoor work, but certainly a man's job is the occupation of Mrs. Katherine Nelson of Jersey City, an electrical welding worker, who has earned $30 a day at times. Miss Amy Carter, another woman in this work, is employed at a Long Island airplane factory, and did all the welding on the plane which was used by Lieutenant Maugham in his famous sunrise-to-sunset flight.

Another energetic woman is Mrs. Margaret Campbell Goodman of New York City, a deep sea diver, whose working suit weighs 153 pounds, and who has had some most unusual experiences searching wrecks, salvaging drowned treasure. Mrs. Goodman is also an officer of the League of American Penwomen, proving that she makes one profession serve another.

Early investigators were informed that there was one branch of newspaper work which women would never invade, that of news photographer. The reason for this seemed obvious—the large plate camera and supplies of the newspaper photographer make a burden that a strong man does not relish carrying throughout a busy day and would

seem an insupportable handicap for a woman. But Virginia Edwards, after working in a small photographic studio long enough to get the technical training, decided that such pictorial reporting appealed to her, and after some argument convinced an Indianapolis paper to give her a trial. Since then she has taken pictures from the top of steeples, in the midst of a milling crowd, from every conceivable angle, carrying her equipment like a man, and is still at the job, which, in the newspaper world, is the surest proof of success.

But if Mrs. Edwards climbs steeples as a vantage point for pictures, other women climb them as part of their daily job, for the woman steeplejack has made her appearance in widely different parts of the country. Ethel Hawkins of Indianapolis paints smokestacks, steeples, and other high points because such work was the only trade she knew when the death of her steeplejack husband sent her job-hunting. Although she found it hard to convince men of her ability and serious intent, she has now gained a valuable reputation for her work. Mrs. Hawkins' tallest job was a 175 foot stack, but Mrs. T. V. Wessella of Oakland, California, climbed a 506 foot stack on a "dare" before she entered the trade. She, too, learned the job from her husband, who found himself in need of assistance when a rush of orders overtook him short-handed. Ruth Heine of San Francisco, another woman steeplejack, specializes in the repair of clocks on towers, a task which combines two trades in one.

Less spectacular, but very practical, painting is done by a number of women who have entered the field of house painting and decorating. One of these, Miss Ann Derickson of Bedford, New York, was an office worker. Tired of inside hours, she turned to this field, and has now built up a business which requires two full-time assistants the year round and many day workers during the rush season. She employs only women, getting most of her help from the Barnard College Occupational Bureau. The salary she offers of $60 a week competing most favorably with the other openings available for women students.

Another woman who emphasizes rather than deplores her sex is Mrs. Jennie Harris, who, after working in the offices of a moving and storage company, and listening to customer complaints, decided that she could do better herself. She hired a horse and cart, and started to solicit business. Having overcome the first sales resistance, she finds her sex an advantage, as she knows better how to please women who constitute the larger proportion of customers in this field. Mary Brandon of West Palm Beach, Florida, operator of the Brandon Transfer and Storage Company, is another woman who has specialized in the handling of breakables and difficult articles to move. She knows every detail of the storage business, and when necessary, goes out in overalls and bosses a negro crew.

Working as linesman for a telegraph system in a mountain country is a strange recommendation for recuperating from a serious operation, yet such were the circumstances in which Mrs. Nell Wheelock, a former nurse, started in her present profession. Mrs. Wheelock and her sister purchased the Skagit Telephone Company at Concrete, Washington, serving four hundred miles of line in an area of canons and mountains. When they started to operate their concern, they could not find a linesman to make the necessary repairs and look after the upkeep, so Mrs. Wheelock took over the work herself, and by her endeavors in the midst

of all kinds of weather has given the company an enviable service record.

When a sailor on a Mississippi River boat says "Aye, Aye, Cap'n," he may be talking to a woman, for there are two women who have served as master, pilot, and captain of boats on this waterway for many years. The first of these, Mrs. Mary Becker Greene, received her pilot's license in 1895, her master's in 1896, and has been in active service ever since, being joint owner and manager with her husband of the "Greene Line" of boats. Mrs. Blanche Leathers, who is master pilot and captain of the *Natchez*, plying between New Orleans and Vicksburg, also learned her craft from her husband, and when she directs her boat today, is responsible for more than five hundred lives.

Mrs. Josie Bishop of New Mexico, possesses the distinction of being the only woman member of the "Fraternal Order of Desert Rats," the society of miners of the Mojave Desert. Mrs. Bishop was born in Silver City, where her father was sheriff, Lew Wallace and Kit Carson being frequent visitors at her home during her childhood. She has tracked the desert with pick and canteen, seeking lucky finds, as sturdily as any man. Today her ambition is to bring some of the advantages of civilization to these isolated desert-dwellers, making life a little more liveable and pleasant for them.

Mrs. Frank McCarroll, who won the international championship for horsewomen at Wembly, began to gain her laurels long before her marriage. A graduate of the University of Idaho, she was reared on a ranch, so her equestrienne triumphs are a natural development. So, too, are the broncho-breaking activities of Charlotte Warner of Grace, Idaho, who breaks horses for fee to earn her college expenses.

GOVERNMENT POSTS

Uncle Sam is employing many women in strenuous posts. One of these is that held by Alice Emel of Coyle, Washington, who delivers the mail to Seabeck, across the Sound. Delivering the mail lacks thrills in city streets, but in this case the only way to reach this little settlement is across a stretch of the ocean, in an outboard motor boat, no small task in wintry weather. Miss Emel won the route by bidding in competition with several men of her community, when the government asked for offers. Although only twenty-two, she has been at the work over a year and a half, and the reason she gave for seeking the task, "It's hard for a girl to earn money in a small town," may explain the existence of other unusual occupations followed by women.

Another woman in the postal service. Mrs. Elizabeth Barnard, started work at the death of her husband and has risen from a $4.00 a week salary to the office of postmaster at Tampa, Florida, the fourth highest salaried postmastership in the country.

Several women are acting as game wardens in various states of the Union, and an investigation of their duties points this as another new and interesting field for the outdoor woman. Mrs. Walter B. Selman, California's only woman game warden, was appointed in 1927, and has arrested nearly forty violators of the fish and game laws, carrying her cases through to the courts to obtain convictions. Left motherless in infancy, Mrs. Sellman, who was raised on a ranch, was always fond of animals. When she married a game warden and learned of the opportunity for service in the field, she turned to it enthusiastically as a profession.

Another woman game warden, Mrs.

Florence Stukel of Minnesota, was also a daughter of the ranches, who chose this work as a way to earn a living after the death of her husband. In seven months she made twelve arrests, securing conviction in every case. In addition to her active field duties, Mrs. Stukel assists in educational work in the schools and at public lectures, where her sex is an advantage. Both of these women carry revolvers, live active lives, and can tell exciting tales of lawbreakers who tried to fight back, of being mistaken for prohibition enforcement officers, and similar thrilling episodes.

Not many years ago women were informed by the forestry service that there was no room for them in field work because of its exacting, strenuous character. Today there are several women who are full-fledged active rangers. One of these, Margaret Lindsley, a Bryn Mawr graduate, is located in the Yellowstone, where her father is postmaster and assistant director of the Park. Miss Lindsley is a full-fledged, permanent ranger, doing both practical field work and lecturing. Esther Morcuml, of Jasper Peak, fills the exacting post of look-out, her task being to watch from an observation point for the tiny thread of smoke which may give warning of a forest fire.

Some Strange Stock Farms

The past decade has seen too many women homesteaders to make the woman ranch director a novelty any longer, but women have frequently displayed originality in the types of ranches they direct. There is, for instance, Miss Aimee Keeran of San Antonio, Texas, who, after graduating from a girl's school, decided to go back to the land, there to raise pure-bred Brahma cattle, which she sells to stock men.

Ada May Cromwell of Jette, Kentucky, is another woman stock raiser who has gained both fame and fortune by raising pedigreed sheep. Beginning her enterprise when a single ewe lamb, whose owner she was unable to find, strayed into her yard, she has purchased and bred pedigreed stock, developing a most successful business.

Another Kentuckian, Elizabeth Pinckney Daingerfield, has gained international fame as the woman director of the stables in which Man-O-War was born. Miss Daingerfield's father, Major Foxhall Daingerfield, was famous for his thoroughbred horses, which his daughter cared for after his death. Since then she has both managed her own stables and those of other distinguished race horse owners. It is interesting that in the same county of Kentucky two other women have been engaged in the same work, Mrs. Elizabeth Kane, who managed the August Belmont stables until their owner's death, and Mrs. Henry Herring, who directs the David Look establishment. A description of Miss Daingerfield's work indicates that her womanliness, with its attention to detail, its capacity for nursing sick animals, for sympathy and care, is a great asset.

Susan G. Brink of Boise, Idaho, is perhaps even better known as a business woman than as a stock raiser, for she first organized the Idaho turkey pool, after a futile effort to dispose of a large load of Thanksgiving turkeys raised on her own farm. This organization makes it possible for the turkey raisers of Idaho to ship in quantity to eastern markets, with greater efficiency and income resulting.

It is a far cry from Brahma cattle and Turkey pools to the product of Mrs. Edith B. DeCoster's farm in Buckfield, Maine, for Mrs. DeCoster has raised moths and butterflies for the past twenty-five years. Starting by mounting and selling a few specimens

which interested her to a wholesale house, she has since built up a unique business, with orders for thousands of this or that variety of her tiny product, which are sold to naturalists, schools, museums, and similar markets.

Other unusual stock farms are the Gay wild animal farm in California, where Mrs. Gay is a partner with her husband in raising lions, tigers, and similar ferocious beasts; Miss M. G. Zerbe's silver fox farm, developed from a homestead when its owner returned tired with overseas nursing; and Florence Eichwaldt's rare bird farm at Hayward, California.

Women nursery owners are frequently met, but Evelyn W. Smith of Amawalk, New York, has developed an interesting specialty by working on the problem of transplanting trees when they are full-grown. Miss Smith's father grew trees as a luxury; on his death she felt the need of making a business of his hobby, and has developed from a start of ten helpers to the need of one hundred and fifty in the busy season. Special care and methods in treating trees grown in her nursery makes it possible to transplant them long after the age when such a move would be fatal to the average tree.

Women Pioneers in Business

Women holding executive posts in business are no novelty today, but certain businesses are so unusual for a woman to engage in, and some of the posts which women are holding are so important as to demand attention.

Among the unusual materials for women to buy and sell are those handled by Mrs. Astrid Rosing Sawyer of Chicago, who founded, built, and heads her own company, dealing in construction materials and doing building contracting. Mrs. Sawyer worked in the offices of companies dealing with these materials until she was well acquainted with the field, and then, borrowing money to gain her independence, set out for orders. She relates that she has found it necessary to do just a little bit more than her masculine rivals in order to secure business, but has found the struggle decidedly worth while. Mrs. Sawyer is also the mother of a family.

Dorothy Wright of Doniphan, Missouri, is another girl who, starting from office experience, became the head of a gravel company which her father had directed until his death. Under her administration, of two years' duration, the plant has increased its output twenty-five times. Miss Wright is only twenty-four years of age.

Strange fields are not, however, the special property of youth. Many women, through widowhood, have had odd businesses thrust upon them, and have had to learn the job and develop the work unaided. Among these are Mrs. Rachel Neill of Orange, New Jersey, who inherited a planing mill from her husband thirty-five years ago, and has conducted the business with marked success; Mrs. L. M. Mabie of Kelso, Washington, who followed her husband in the strange business of smelt shipping (the smelt is a small fish found in the area), and Mrs. Lillie B. Kinney of Portland, Oregon, whose plating works are well known in the vicinity for the variety and excellence of their work. Two women in Oklahoma, Mrs. Mabel Clare Orr of Blackwell, and Mrs. Norma Frensley of Duncan, are drilling oil wells and building derricks, work demanding not only the supervision of a large force of men, but considerable knowledge of the practical needs of the field, and active personal direction.

A business which few of us have considered unless it concerned us personally is that of the manufacture of

glass eyes, a task which demands not only business but handicraft ability. Dorothy F. Davis is successfully carrying on an establishment in this field, previously conducted by her father and grandfather.

Another strange business field is that to be entered by Miss Florence Killilea of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who has just inherited the professional baseball team of that city through the death of her father, and who declares her intention to continue as president and director of the company, making it her special province to interest more women in baseball.

Whether the accomplishments of Henrietta Ord Jones should be classified as belonging to the field of business or of art, at any rate they demand notice, particularly from the girl who combines an interest in both in her makeup. After twenty-five years of teaching at Washington University, Miss Jones decided to make some creative use of her talents and invested her savings in the necessary equipment for a small pottery. The recognition she has received since then has been gratifying in both a remunerative and artistic way, as she ships her product from St. Louis to the eastern shops in as large quantities as she can produce, while her election to an active membership in the American Ceramic Society, and the medals which have been awarded her indicate the artistic merit of her work. But even more important than artistic ability or business faculties was the courage needed to cut herself loose from the work she had followed for twenty-five years and start on an altogether new road.

The next time you look at the bride and groom on a wedding cake or survey the intricate decorations celebrating the Fourth of July in the pastry shop, consider the work of Miss Maude Schlenzig of Denver, Colorado, who gave up her own business to continue the decorative confectionary manufacture work of her father at his death. Not only supervision of a large establishment is needed in this field, but designing ability and a practical knowledge of details are essential. Miss Schlenzig has increased the business by more than 20 per cent.

WOMEN EXPERTS

Certain women have gained eminence because of specialized knowledge which has made them, not necessarily the head of a large business establishment, but sought after for advice by executives. Such a woman is Mrs. G. M. Starr, chartering manager for Swayne and Hoyt, ship owners of San Francisco. It is Mrs. Starr's task to know ships and cargoes, to know sailing dates and methods of packing and shipping, to know what space is available and to sell that space to the best advantage. Only two other women in the history of shipping are known to have held such a post, to be attained only after serving an apprenticeship in shipping details.

Another expert in foreign trade, this time in business for herself as a consultant, is Lucy A. Goldsmith of New York City. Starting with a knowledge of South American needs, she specialized while still in the teens in the trade of that area, directing the Latin-American department of a large firm. A knowledge of the tastes and needs of people of every country, a knowledge of shipping costs and possibilities, a knowledge of business cycles and conditions, all of these are essential for success in the work she has chosen.

Knowledge of trade has been the asset of another woman, Elizabeth Humes, who has just been appointed assistant Trade Commissioner under the United States Department of Commerce at Rome. Born in Memphis,

educated in private schools here and abroad, experienced as a translator and secretary to United States commercial attachés, she has learned her business from every angle and set a precedent which other girls may survey with interest.

Several women have entered the brokerage business in widely different fields, business which involves not only considerable general executive and sales ability, but specialized knowledge. Two widely different angles may be viewed through the careers of Miss Mayme Ziegelman on the west coast, who worked for lumber companies, and had charge of the log-sales department of a large concern, and is today a leading lumber broker of the area, and Miss May A. Davis (Mrs. Daniel A. Hoffman, with two sons), a cotton broker of Philadelphia.

Big Business

Some executive posts which women hold are important because of the size of the interests involved. Such, for instance, is that of Phoebe Clark of Nashville, Tennessee, president of the Tennessee, Kentucky, and Northern Railroad, or of Mrs. Louise Arhurst, treasurer and wholesale and retail manager of sales for the Pike's Peak Fuel Company, or of Mrs. Statler, who has succeeded her husband to responsibility for the extensive chain of hotels which bear his name, or of Edna Albert, founder and owner of the Odor-O-No Company.

Such, too, is the post of Mary E. Dillon, president of the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company of Coney Island, New York, a corporation with a capitalization of $12,500,000. Miss Dillon started with the company as an office girl, had no relatives therein and owned no stock, but progressed through merit through the varied positions of office manager, statistician, accountant, assistant general manager and general manager (doing the work for five years before it was considered wise to bestow the title on a woman).

Unusual Professions for Women

Turning to the professions, it is harder to find unusual work, for there women seem to follow the beaten track. One pioneer, however, is Lillian M. Gilbreth, one of the leading consulting engineers in the country, specializing in efficiency engineering. Mrs. Gilbreth entered the field in order to work with her husband, and succeeded so well that she has been elected to full membership in the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, an organization which numbers only three women to nineteen thousand men. She does not feel that her sex has been a handicap in her work. Incidentally Mrs. Gilbreth is the mother of eleven children, no small accomplishment in itself.

Chemical and mining engineering claim a distinguished woman in Marshall Holt (Mrs. Leland Holt), who has worked in various fields of her profession in Germany, Russia, Java and Hawaii. Mrs. Holt entered chemistry because the subject fascinated her, has never felt her sex a handicap, although admitting that she has worked harder than a man, "but just because I have so much energy and liked my work." Another woman engineer, a specialist in house construction, is Kate Gleason of Rochester, New York, the first woman to qualify for full membership in the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Miss Gleason's father was an engineer and when the brother who was to carry on the profession died, Miss Gleason scandalized the town by deciding to take his place. She received most of her training from her father, although she had some academic work, and is now bending her energies toward the development of small

concrete houses which may simplify the building problems for those who want quality but whose purses cannot pay ordinary building prices.

Miss Edith Clarke of the General Electric Company, another woman engineer, trained at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, received the distinction of being invited to read a paper at the Society of Electrical Engineers, while Miss Minna Dennes, partner in the firm of L. Copleston, Inc., agents for the Erie Ball Engine Co., is self-educated in her field, where she has won recognition as a stationary engineer. Women engineers in England have organized a society, with Miss Margaret Partridge, an electrical engineer, as their president. Miss Partridge, when asked about sex as a handicap, said that while it might demand extra effort to overcome prejudice, the mere novelty also provided excellent advertising, a point not to be overlooked in any of these fields where women are taking the place of men.

Again verging on the arts is the work of Maude T. Howell, stage manager for some of the largest and most intricate productions presented in New York, a post which involves executive ability, hard work, and the capacity to secure coöperation from one's fellow-workers.

Another interesting profession is that of Caroline Bartlett Crane of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Mrs. Crane is a sanitarian, *i.e.*, she makes general surveys of social and sanitary conditions in cities, having done this work for sixty cities in fourteen states, under the auspices of local organizations and state boards of health. She is now engaged on a special study of housing conditions in cities of less than 10,000 population. This is the type of work in which a woman creates her opening by doing the things for the community which woman is supposed to do in the home, and is suggestive of the many openings for a woman of this type. Incidentally, Mrs. Crane is also a minister in the Unitarian Church.

STRANGE ARTS

Turning for a brief glimpse of the artistic field (artists as such have been excluded from this study) we find Grace Hazen, who specializes in the manufacture of handwrought gold jewelry, Julia D'Wolf Addison of Brookline, Massachusetts, who designs ecclesiastical ornaments, Helen M. Armstrong of New York, who designs and paints stained glass windows and works in mosaics, Anna B. Comstock, natural history artist and engraver, chosen by the National League of Women Voters in 1923 as one of the twelve greatest living American women, and Emily Perry of Pasadena, California, who makes life studies of anatomical details during operations, for the benefit of surgeons. Only two women in the past one hundred and fifty-eight years have been given the distinction of election to the British Royal Academy, indicating that perhaps even general art in certain qualities might be classed as unusual.

Several women have of late entered the field of orchestra conducting, among these being the distinguished pianist, Ethel Leginska, Maria Sundstrom of Chicago, Thelma Terry, also of Chicago, who conducts an orchestra composed entirely of men, and Margarete Dessoff, a Viennese who recently had the very distinguished privilege of leading the Schola Cantorum at Orchestra Hall, New York.

There was a time when it was said that the pipe organ was too difficult an instrument, physically, for women to master. Today there are women organists in every city of any size in the country. The carrillon, however, that instrument of bells, is still an exacting

one for the feminine physique, which makes the accomplishment of Ruth Conniston, carrillon player of the Park Avenue Baptist Church of New York, the more remarkable.

Women's voices by the hundred are coming on the air over the radio, but Bertha Brainerd, of the National Broadcasting Company (which includes such well-known stations as WEAF and WJZ), is one woman in radio who does her work out of sound of the microphone. Miss Brainerd is program director for this immense chain, whose rentals involve hundreds of thousands of dollars and upon her judgment the success of the system depends, as she must furnish ideas for new programs, decide which hour is apt to appeal best to the public of a certain advertiser and then sell him on her idea, to say nothing of knowing the technical details of the radio broadcasting field.

SCIENCE

Science as a field for women has ceased to be unusual, although it is far from thickly populated by women workers. Some notice should, however, be made of the Society of Women Geographers, that little band of originally thirty-nine women who have scoured the ends of the earth for scientific data. Some of the leading members are Mary Hastings Bradley and Delia Akeley, perhaps best known as big game hunters, Harriet Chalmers Adams, president of the society who has visited every land in the world which ever belonged to either Spain or Portugal, many times being the first explorer on record of an area; Gertrude Emerson of *Asia* magazine, the first woman in the wilds of Indo-China, who headed a motion picture expedition there; Marguerite Harrison, the woman behind the motion picture "Grass," who managed the details of the trip into the field, acting as cook, doctor, or whatever else was needed during the expedition; Blair Niles, specialist in the comparative psychology of primitive peoples; Florence Merriam Bailey, ornithologist, seeking the strange birds of our own land. Some of these women entered the work through the door of journalism, some as scientists attached to a large expedition or doing field work for a museum, and some, in possession of independent means, turned to it, not for a living, but for service. Their great significance for other women lies in the fact that in any case they have arrived, that they have traveled in parts of darkest Africa, of the Amazon Basin, of Asia, of the Arctic, where other men and women have not been, and because their number is increasing yearly, they should be an inspiration to any woman who wishes to pioneer in a new field.

UNTRODDEN PATHS

And now for a few of those truly unusual occupations which are unique with their owners. For instance, Mrs. Phillip Carter of San Francisco grew tired of seeing the same old traffic signals, some of which she thought ineffective, and decided to design a few new and better ones. Today she has a dozen patents to her credit and is still at work, designing models which she markets to manufacturers.

Janet Malnek Knopf wanted to give her daughter the educational toys which books said the modern child should have, but found that such toys frequently existed only in the minds of educators or in a few model schools. Mrs. Knopf immediately set to work to manufacture these playthings for children and to design others, thus laying the foundation for a new business.

Starting as the superintendent of the hospital, which she built over, reorganized, and in general remade to fit her standards of efficiency, Frances

A. Stone made such a good job of her work that she has not been allowed to enjoy it, but has been kept on the go, remaking other hospitals as fast as she can. Among her *chefs d'oeuvre* are the Women's Infirmary in New York, the City Hospital of Miami, Corey Hill Private Hospital in Brookline, the Baltimore Hospital for Women, and the Clarkson Hospital at Omaha. A combination of engineering, personnel work, nursing, and several other crafts, her trade is certainly interesting.

Attractive, too, is the profession of Miss Amy Virginia Pace, who is official hostess for the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. First asked to care for the needs of the women attending a large convention in that city, she was carried over for another convention, then another, until it was finally decided to make the post permanent. This post she has held for six years, although today Miss Pace is only twenty-five years of age. Her task includes planning tours for visitors, finding suitable temporary governesses and nursemaids, advising on shopping expeditions and in general providing the same service as that of an individual, personal hostess.

Miss Laura Lee Rogers of Elizabeth, New Jersey, has made profits on that childhood pastime of most of us, naming things, for her profession is that of nomenclator. This naming of hers, however, is no childish, helterskelter business, for it brings hundreds to her door in a year, searching for the perfect name for a magazine, a food product, a real estate development, a race horse, or a business establishment. A knowledge of human nature and of trends and tastes are all involved to make the names she sells profitable to the purchasers.

Other unusual positions are gained and held because of some odd natural talent of their owner. For instance, there is Ann Haviland, whose nose could always distinguish the finest nuances of odors, be they of flowers, of chemicals, or of inanimate things. She followed her nose into a large perfume establishment, and is now engaged in blending special individual perfumes. Miss Emma Mast turned what might have been a disaster into her fortune, for she is blind, but day after day she sips coffee in the office of A. Schilling & Company of San Francisco, for she is a coffee taster and her very lack of sight assures unprejudiced accuracy. Maxine Glover, of Chicago, keeps her living by a hair, for her hair is perfectly fitted for the mechanism which tests humidity control for a cement association.

These are but a few individual cases. There are women bill posters, an all-woman fire department at Silver Springs, New York, women undertakers, a woman armorer caring for the government's munitions in South Carolina, a woman who makes her living opening and closing country houses, another who teaches nervous women to drive, and several giving personal supervision to those desiring reducing régimes.

Nesta Edwards of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, owner of the Industrial Catering Company, makes a living by delivering hot lunches to industrial plants by truck loads, on steam tables. Covered dishes containing the various edibles are opened by the men, and no small part of her success is due to the fact that she provides a variety which permits individual selection.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

But what is the mass significance of these various individual cases? Certainly, in the first place, they provide an inspiration for the woman who wants to try something different, or who feels that, because she lacks training for a conventional occupation, she cannot earn a livelihood.

In order to gain further information, a detailed questionnaire was sent to those women in *Who's Who in America* whose occupations were particularly unusual. One interesting feature of this group is the fact that married women outnumbered the single in the proportion of 13 to 10. Even more interesting was the fact that these married women, almost without exception, were mothers, frequently of unusually large families, Mrs. Gilbreth topping the list with eleven children. In one case, where the marriage had produced no children, the subject had adopted six orphans, indicating an unusual character from the start.

Among the chief questions asked of these women was the relation of their sex to the difficulty of obtaining a start and in securing recognition in their profession. Almost without exception these women, who have attained marked eminence in their work, said that they considered their sex as much of an advantage as a handicap and that, as one woman put it "perhaps the men in my profession are different . . . I think they must be from the stories other women tell . . . but I have always found them most fair to me."

Leaving aside the encouraging tenor of such answers, their very unanimity denotes once more, as does their family life, the unusual character, the vitality, the broadmindedness of these women. In this connection it should, however, be noted that the testimony of women in the more crowded trades is not always so generous to their masculine associates. Whether this is because the men workers there associate the women with an opposing sex, rather than as individuals, or because the actual competition in these other fields is more bitter, would demand further study to determine. It should, however, be noted that certain of the trades mentioned at the beginning of this article as not followed by women are automatically closed, except at the expense of great struggle, by union rules which will not admit feminine apprentices.

Surveying the field as a whole, it is interesting to note that the proportion of married women to single women remains about equal throughout the group. An exceptionally large number are widows who stepped into their husband's jobs, indicating that many professions are more a matter of environment than of sex. And finally, the incomes earned by some of the women in this study are undoubtedly among the largest being paid to women in America today, another spur for the girl or woman who lacks the courage to strike out in new fields.

Women in the Clerical Occupations

By Grace L. Coyle
Lecturer in Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University

THE influx of women into the clerical occupations within the last few decades has become one of the most phenomenal, if also one of the least conspicuous of the economic changes which have been transforming the lives of women during that period.[1] The seven women stenographers and typists recorded by the census takers of 1870 would hardly have conceived it possible that they were precursors of a host which had become half a million by the census of 1920. But this is only typical of all the clerical occupations which have increased decade by decade with unbroken regularity. Where there were half a million clerical workers in 1880, there grew to be nearly a million in 1900, and nearly three million in 1920. Throughout this period of advance, women have been assuming a growing importance. From being only 6 per cent of the total in 1880, they had become 45 per cent in 1920, and there is every prospect that the coming census will see them in the majority. During the last decade for which we have figures, 1910 to 1920, the Women's Bureau reports that the increase of women in the clerical occupations was "seven and a half times as great as the increase among women in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and almost three times as great as that among women in professional service."[2] In 1920, clerical occupations took only 7.3 per cent of all employed women, while in 1920, 16.7 per cent were employed there.

The recent increase in the number and proportion of office workers is not only characteristic of the United States but of many European countries as well. M. Thomas of the International Labor Office in a recent speech reported an increased proportion of office workers to all those employed as indicative of this trend. In Denmark, in 1911, 7.7 per cent of every one hundred employed were office workers; in 1921, 11.7 per cent. In France, the proportion rose from 6.6 per cent in 1906 to 10.7 per cent in 1921; in Great Britain, from 7.7 per cent in 1907 to 10.8 per cent in 1924.[3] Although the inconsistencies in the classifications used by various countries make all international comparisons necessarily inaccurate, there is sufficient likeness to give evidence of the existence if not of the exact extent of this tendency.

Social Significance of Clerical Occupations

The importance of the clerical occupations, however, is not to be rated in numerical terms only. They have a peculiar social significance because of the psychological connotations which have come to be attached to them.

In the common estimation of our industrial communities the occupations have ranged themselves in a hierarchy based on desirability. This hierarchy differs perhaps between communities or

[1] The term "clerical" is here used to include all the office occupations other than executive or professional.

[2] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *The Occupational Progress of Women*, p. 17.

[3] Thomas, Albert, *Die Stellung der Angestellten in der Organisierten Industrie der Nachkriegszeit, herausgegeben vom Allgemeinen Freien Angestelltenbund*, p. 9.

sections of the country according to the degree of prestige or stigma attached to each occupation but is, nevertheless, very similar in arrangement everywhere. Among women, where perhaps the feeling for social status is more pronounced, this has resulted in the establishing of certain universally recognized strata based on occupation. Domestic service and the less desirable types of factory employment vie with each other for the bottom place. The poorer kinds of store work usually come next, followed by the skilled factory work and ascending through telephone and selling positions to the clerical occupations. The less desirable forms of clerical work, however, are often on a level in public esteem with those in the telephone exchanges and stores, while the office positions requiring the most skill reach a level recognized usually by those concerned as equal to that of the less skilled professional positions. The evidence of this stratification is seen in the comparative ease with which a worker may change one job for another of the same or of a lower level, as compared with the relative difficulty of advancing to a higher level unless the worker has unusual capacity, additional experience, or education. It is also discernible in many communities by the social distance felt by workers in different strata which hinders natural social intercourse between them.

The reasons for the high esteem with which the clerical positions have been regarded are many and complex. Basic among these, no doubt, is the ancient stigma attached to manual work, and the higher status given to any occupation supposedly mental. Certain undoubted economic advantages also account, in part, for the preference. The office occupations are usually clean; they do not require heavy manual effort; the hours are comparatively short. The income while not high in many cases is more regular. Certain privileges in the way of vacations, sick leave, and security of tenure usually go with them. Moreover, there is often the possibility of contact with those in executive positions. Most important of all for many workers is the opportunity which clerical positions are believed to offer for a rise to business success so highly and universally esteemed among us. However specious some of these advantages may seem, they have combined to win for clerical work its relatively high place in the occupational hierarchy.

The existence of such occupational levels may appear a violation of "American traditions," but in fact, it is a necessary result of the process of valuation by which it is commonly recognized that certain jobs are better than others. It may be that the common values which establish such estimates of occupations are or seem to be socially undesirable or even disastrous, but the process itself is inevitable. However, as long as our system of what Professor Cooley has called "open classes" remains, the existence of the occupational hierarchy will serve to perpetuate an "upward" movement of the more ambitious or the more able. It is precisely at this point that the social significance of the clerical occupations becomes obvious. In our economic system they present the most accessible rung by which many workers may climb "up" on the socially established ladder. The attainment of a clerical position has come to be valued, therefore, not alone for its intrinsic advantages, economic or otherwise, but also as a symbol of other less tangible benefits.

THE CLERICAL FUNCTION IN THE MODERN BUSINESS WORLD

The growing number of clerical workers reported by each successive census

is an index of the development of clerical functions within the business world. The clerical functions serve in the essential linkage of production and distribution. The need for such a connective has been enormously increased with the development of modern business. Our large scale production, our extensive transportations, our modern high-pressure advertising all require an amount of office work per unit of goods enormously greater than in the early days of the industrial revolution. Modern business practice with its accuracy, its record keeping, and its statistical analyses would be impossible without extensive clerical forces. Other supplementary factors, also, have their effect. The growth of banks, insurance companies, correspondence schools, and mail-order and publishing houses, for example, call for large numbers of clerical workers. Even the current practice in hand-to-mouth buying and installment selling probably adds a certain quota to the total clerical work required by business.

As the demand for clerical services has grown, mechanical devices have been developed which have tended to transform the clerical function from a primitive handicraft to a thoroughly modernized function. The successful development of office machinery did not come until a century after the corresponding strategic inventions in industrial production. The perfecting of mechanical writing was finally accomplished, after two centuries of experimentation, in 1866–7 in the invention of the typewriter by Christopher Scholes. The significance of this invention for women is well stated by the Women's Bureau.

> Not only, therefore, has the typewriter revolutionized modern business methods but it has created an occupation calling for more women than have been employed as a result of any other invention.[4]

The typewriter however was only the beginning. The addressograph, the autographic register, and the duplicator, appeared within fifteen years, and the mathematical machines soon thereafter. Since that time machinery has been revolutionizing one process after another. Within the last decade mechanical devices have become as universal and as essential to almost every detail of office work as it is in the factory. To see this we have only to step from the bookkeeping department of any modern office with its bookkeeping machines, its billers, and statistical machines, through the stenographic bureau where automatic typewriters and dictaphones compete with the descendants of Mr. Scholes' invention, to the mailing room with its automatic folding, stamping, and sealing devices. In every corner, human labor is being replaced by mechanical devices or is being used to tend machines which seem almost human in their capacities.

WOMEN AND THE DEMAND FOR CLERICAL WORKERS

While conditions within business were creating the clerical positions, circumstances outside it were producing the workers to fill them. The change in the position of women was admitting and indeed forcing them into all fields of employment. The newly opened clerical occupations were not already preëmpted by men, except in a few favored positions, and the character of the work made it in some ways especially adapted to women.

Then, too, the rising standard of living of manual workers has made it possible for more of them to provide

[4] U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *The Effects of Applied Research upon the Employment Opportunities of American Women*, p. 42.

their children with the high-school education necessary to clerical positions, and the popular belief in education as the open sesame to opportunity has been an incentive to increased high-school attendance. This increase in the high-school population—the rate of which, within the last thirty years, has been about twenty times the rate of increase in the population—has thrown upon the vocational market thousands of girls with a high school education, a large proportion of whom aspire to clerical positions.

Another factor which has contributed to increase the available supply of women clerical workers has been the new and slowly emerging attitude toward the work of women after marriage. The married woman at work has made her appearance at the two ends of the social scale and for very different reasons. The largest percentage of the married women at work are in agriculture, domestic service, and manufacturing industries where the obvious cause of their presence is sheer economic necessity. In the professional group, on the other hand, there has come a move toward work after marriage which though motivated by economic reasons in some cases is predominantly influenced by an attitude of mind related to the desire for independence, self expression and the use of expert skill. The clerical worker has not been until lately seriously affected by either of these factors. The economic pressure which has forced the women in the manual groups to work after marriage has not been so strong on her since the husband's salary has been on the whole more adequate. On the other hand she has been little touched by the motives which influence professional women. The result has been that in 1910 the smallest percentage of married women in any employed group was found among clerical women. The 5.6 per cent of clerical workers married in 1910 as compared with the 10.4 per cent of professional women and the 18.6 per cent of the manufacturing and mechanical groups who were married is evidence of a very different economic and psychological situation. It is exceedingly significant, moreover, that while most of the other percentages rose very little in the next decade the percentage of married women in the clerical occupations nearly doubled. The reason for this is to be found in some shift in circumstances or change in attitude. It is undoubtedly true that the salaries of clerical men have not kept pace with those of other workers and there is consequently, in many cases, an actual economic necessity in clerical families for additional income. It is also likely that the more favorable attitude toward the work of married women produced in part by its increase among professional women is having its effect on this group especially. Clerical husbands according to a study by Miss Pruette are reluctant to "allow" their wives to work. Employers and employment managers look with suspicion upon married women, although the basis for this attitude seems to rest less upon a scientific study of the relative efficiency of married and unmarried women than on a commendable desire to defend the "American home" from subversive tendencies. Unmarried women in the offices regard them as unfair competitors who should leave the field to the girl who has no other support. It is interesting to observe that this opposition instead of preventing the employment of married women has in fact only served to bring to pass what Lucy Stone could never have accomplished so extensively by exhortation, the continuing use of maiden names after marriage. In spite of objections from many sources, the practice of

work after marriage is undoubtedly on the increase. The result has been to bring upon the market still further supplies of clerical workers.

THE MECHANICAL ASPECT OF CLERICAL WORK

The large numbers of women in clerical positions today find themselves a part of a changing situation within the office. The techniques of office work are undergoing continuous transformation as the process of mechanization goes on. One of the most significant of these changes from the point of view of the office worker is the specialization of work. It is inevitable that the small office with a force of five or ten should retain its unspecialized form and the personal contact of worker and employer. But with the growth of large-scale offices, mass production methods become possible. In many cases the nature of the work, as in the insurance companies or mail order houses, is of a routine kind especially adapted to an extensive division of labor. In many larger offices, especially where scientific management has been applied, there has appeared a specialization as minute as that of any industrial plant. While the tendency towards specialization has not developed so far as to reduce every clerical worker to the performance of a single minute task, there is little doubt that many jobs are increasingly narrowed in their range and that a growing number of office jobs are devoted to a single small process.

One of the aspects of this specialization has been the centralizing of workers into a separate office. Stenographers, for example, are to an increasing extent removed from department offices, except in the case of those attached to the chief executives, and segregated into a separate stenographic bureau of which a dictaphone department is usually a part. Such centralization has many advantages to management in the way of an efficient distribution of work, standardization of production, and flexibility in assignment. Its results in the saving of time and in the reduction of staff commend it to those offices whose size and organization make it possible.

In many offices today, scientific management is being applied to all the clerical functions. Jobs are being analyzed, time and motion studies made, layout and routing studied, and standards established. As a part of this process, methods of payment found effective in the factory are being adapted to office requirements. Piece rates in some places are being set for typing, billing, or transcribing. Bonus systems and salary classifications are established. The actual extent of such scientific office management is no doubt proportionately small, but it is significant in that it is in the van of those movements which are likely eventually to affect the entire clerical field.

Such changes in the clerical functions have far reaching results for the women in clerical work. As usual, specialization means, of necessity, a narrowed skill and in many of the mechanized processes its practical elimination. This is true especially in the more routine positions and the more specialized offices. Initiative and personality are of less value in such situations. The depersonalizing of the relations between worker and employer follows, in many instances with large-scale offices and specialized work.

EFFECT OF MECHANIZATION ON THE CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT IN CLERICAL POSITIONS

To all of these familiar results of mechanization is added one of especial importance to the clerical worker, namely, what is happening to the

chance for advancement. The hope of advancement has always been one of the cherished possessions of the clerical group. For many women it involved the ambition to rise to the top of the clerical occupations, perhaps to a private secretaryship or the head of the stenographic bureau. To a few women it has meant the hope of becoming an executive or an independent business woman. Several factors are having their effect on the fulfillment of these hopes. The developments in office technique seem to be reducing the number of skilled clerical jobs requiring initiative to a relatively few while it creates large numbers of routine or mechanical positions. Moreover, there seems to be in most offices very little provision or plan for regular promotion. In a study made by the American Management Association of forty-eight firms in its membership (which is of course an unusually progressive group in such matters) only about one-third had made any plans for promotion.[5] A study made by Professor F. G. Nichols among office workers reveals a great divergence of opinions as to the promotional opportunities of various positions which seem to prove the lack of any clearly recognized ladder of promotion in most firms.[6]

Opportunities to rise out of the clerical field into other work seem even more uncertain. A recent study of the woman secretary shows that for only about one-fifth it is the entrance into something else, although it is popularly supposed to be the best door into executive business positions for women.[7] Professor Nichols in questioning office managers about opportunities to rise into executive status found that 88 percent felt that they needed "clerks who are satisfied to remain clerks."[8] These rather scattered figures are borne out by contact with women in clerical work. For those who have little education and start at the bottom of the scale, some advancement is possible, though not assured, if they get more education. It is that hope that crowds our evening schools with clerical workers perfecting their skill. Even within the limits of clerical work promotion becomes less possible as the number of routine jobs increases. The opportunities for women are of course much more limited than for men. Comparatively few women are found in the higher wage groups which contain the best of the office positions. It seems fair to say that at present the clerical worker can have little assurance that advancement is possible beyond the limits of the stenographic, comptometer, or dictaphone positions, and that if she is a woman she must have very unusual ability to attain one of the few positions which combine the opportunity for skill and initiative with higher pay and responsibility.

HEALTH HAZARDS OF CLERICAL WORK FOR WOMEN

The health of the woman clerical worker is of course affected also by these developments in her vocational life. Very little study has been given to this subject apparently, but from two sources comes evidence that it is deserving of further investigation. Dr. Wade Wright, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reports that tuberculosis of the lungs is the chief cause of death among clerks, followed in order of importance by heart disease, influenza,

[5] Griffenhagen, E. G., *Classification and Compensation plans as Tools in Personnel Administration*, p. 14.

[6] Nichols, F. G., *A New Conception of Office Practice*, pp. 92–93.

[7] Doerschuk, Beatrice, *The Woman Secretary* (unpublished).

[8] Nichols, F. G., *A New Conception of Office Practice*, p. 30.

pneumonia, and Bright's disease. The tuberculosis rate among clerks is exceeded by that of ten other occupations all of which, however, are recognized as suffering from high tuberculosis death rates. Says Dr. Wright:

> The conditions frequently met with in offices which are conducive to ill health are poor ventilation, poor illumination and bad seating which taken together with bad habits and fashions and lack of proper exercise is responsible for the generally poor posture of office workers.[9]

Very interesting testimony, especially in the light of the new technical developments, comes from a study conducted in England by the Welfare Society, on sickness among office workers. One large firm reports for example an annual illness record of 7.2 per cent days for general clerks, 13.5 per cent for workers on office machines other than typewriters, and 9.5 per cent days for typists. This is very significant in view of present tendencies toward mechanization. Reports from other firms seem to indicate also that the strain on the general clerical worker with a variety of duties results in considerably less sickness than that which occurs among girls doing more concentrated machine work, especially of the computing variety. The driving effect of piece work payment, and the restriction of interest that come with the centralized stenographic bureau or the use of dictaphone are also suggested in this study as influential factors in the production of fatigue. "The general conclusions seem to be that abnormal sickness," in offices, "may arise from conditions such as the following: (a) working at high speed and great concentration, (b) the monotony of the work, (c) the noise of the typewriters, (d) the cramped positions of the worker, (e) faulty ventilation and heating of the room, (f) defects of the eyesight."[10] Many of these causes of ill health are easily remediable with proper attention from the management. Some of them which are the by-products of mechanization will require that same careful study which is needed in industrial pursuits, if the undoubted economic gains of machinery are not to be offset by an injury to the workers involved.

CHANGING ECONOMIC POSITION OF CLERICAL WORKERS

Women in clerical work are meeting, also, with relative changes in the economic positions of the group which are the result of the factors already mentioned. The popularity of the clerical occupations and the large number of workers available, the decreasing skill required in many jobs together with the predominance of women in the group have served to prevent salaries from rising at the same rate as those of manual workers. According to Professor Paul Douglas in the last thirty years while the real wages of manual workers in manufacturing and transportation have risen 28 per cent on the base of their average wage from 1890–99, those of clerical workers and minor executives have showed no advance and in some years have fallen behind.[11] In money terms salaries in 1926 as reported by the National Industrial Conference Board ranged from a median of $15.38 for mail clerks, up through $20.75 for experienced typists, $21.89 for machine operators, and $27.47 for senior stenographers to $49.87 for chief clerks. In

[9] Wright, Dr. Wade, "The Health of Office Workers," *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1926, p. 268.

[10] "Abnormal Sickness among Typists," *The Clerk*, October, 1928, p. 160.

[11] Douglas, Paul H., "The Movement of Real Wages and its Economic Significance," *American Economic Review Supplement*, March, 1926.

every group the salaries of women fall behind those of men, showing increasing disparity in the upper levels. The same study shows a small proportion of women in all the higher salaried groups and their predominance in the lower wage levels.[12] Personal contacts with clerical workers reveal many beginning positions at salaries of $10.00 or $12.00 even in the large cities. The National Industrial Conference Board adds further that for six of the more routine positions the average salary was $25.00 per week as compared with an average of $27.27 paid to manual workers the same year.[13]

It should be noted however that although the woman office worker may not be in so advantageous a position as to salary, she usually has certain perquisites that go with her status, such as vacations with pay, and payment in case of sickness or accident, all of which are more common than among manual workers. Bonus payments are often liberal and there is more security of tenure.[14]

The level of salaries is of course affected by the number of workers seeking jobs. While unemployment figures are even less available for this group than for other groups of workers, it appears that clerical workers shared largely in the recent unemployment. The New York State Industrial Bulletin gives figures which compares the number of workers applying for jobs to the state employment offices with the number of workers called for. For almost every month in the last year the clerical workers have shown a higher rate of disparity between workers and jobs, than any other occupational group, the extent of the disparity ranging in most months between 300 and 500 workers applying to every 100 positions available. If such figures are in any sense representative, they help to account for the failure of salaries to increase. Until more adequate statistics are available, it is impossible to estimate the relation between the number of potential clerical workers and the positions opening for them.

The conditions of work which affect a million and a half women in clerical work must necessarily be a matter of public concern. It has been customary both among clerical workers themselves and among others, to regard clerical workers as outside the range of attention to working conditions. Clerical workers had "positions" not jobs; they are paid "salaries," not wages; and had attained to a status where investigators did not penetrate and legislation did not corrupt the free play of economic opportunity. Circumstances in the world of business and in the realm of technological developments are transforming the daily routine, the economic position, and the social status of the clerical occupations. The future of these occupations as providing satisfactory vocational fields for women becomes increasingly a matter of public interest.

[12] National Industrial Conference Board, *Clerical Salaries in the United States*, 1926, pp. 24–29.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[14] "Office Working Conditions and Extra Compensation Plans," *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1928.

Women in Farm Life and Rural Economy

By Mary Meek Atkeson, Ph.D.
Author, *The Woman on the Farm, The Shining Hours*, etc.

THE woman on the American farm has been considered, by those who have studied the position of farm women the world over, to be in a very happy situation. However hard her lot might be, she has been protected, at least, against working outdoors in the fields and against actively directing the farm processes. Except in some few foreign settlements, a farmer could not hold his position in the community if he allowed his wife or his daughters to labor in the fields. Even the foreign communities have tended to get away from field work for the women in the second or third generation as they become otherwise Americanized. In other words, outdoor work in the fields for women has been taboo, and that has been the pride of the American farmer.

Furthermore, no American hired man, however low his station, would take orders for farm work from a woman. And a woman was never supposed to know anything about field crops like wheat and corn, or about live stock.

The American farm woman has been constantly reminded that in some European countries the peasant who tills the soil, not only allows, but expects, his wife and children to toil daily with him in the fields, and that the farm woman is sometimes yoked with the family cow to drag the plowshare through the soil—the peasant, presumably, doing the driving. Perhaps this is true, but the American farm woman has generally not been to Europe to see those sad conditions with her own eyes. She is inclined, therefore, to be a bit skeptical about some of the tales. She is not sociologist enough, perhaps, to realize that the taboo against outdoor work and the management of the money-making farm crops, however much she disliked it as an individual, had through the years saved her, as a class, from much exploitation and too heavy labor.

In fact, the American farm woman has looked directly at her individual problem and her individual farm. She has seen that, although she was not allowed to ride the disc-harrow, or the reaper in the fields, no one objected to her working long hours over a steaming washtub, or cleaning the chicken house, or handling the deadly heavy cans of milk in the dairy, although this was a part of the heaviest work done on the farm. Effective labor-saving machinery for work in the fields has been developed a whole generation ahead of effective labor-saving machinery for work in the farm home.

Although it has been considered improper for the farm woman to handle wheat-money or corn-money, she has observed that often it has been her egg-money and butter-money and berry-money that has kept the family going and sometimes even paid off the mortgage on the farm. So it happens that the farm woman is very generally breaking away from the old standards and taking over the easiest work in the fields, and, at the same time, shifting some of the heavier housework to the shoulders of the men of the family, or else to effective mechanical appliances.

This new tendency will amount, in some neighborhoods, to a real revolution among the farm people, who are

disposed to be conservative in social matters. But it is happening, and the American farmer may as well take the new woman-farmer into account. She will soon be a real rival to him, as more women become farm foremen, and more and more young girls enter the state universities for agricultural courses. It is true that the change may lead sometimes to an exploitation of women on the farm and may bring a hardship upon some women, but the traditions are being broken, whether for good or ill, and it is a condition to be reckoned with.

THE SOURCE OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME IN THE PAST

One thing that the farm woman has noted in her survey of things as they are, is that the apparent prosperity of American agriculture in the past has resulted chiefly from two things: first, the steady rise in land prices, and second, the unpaid service of the women and children. Even the most inefficient farmer, if he succeeded in holding his bit of land, left a good inheritance to his family because of the rising value of the land. It was like money piling up in the bank. The farm operations did not need to yield more than bare living expenses. But now, when falling land values are the rule, the farmer must make much more than bare living expenses or he will become bankrupt.

In the old days the farm processes were carried on by the common effort of the family. It was almost impossible for an unmarried farmer to manage a farm, and the woman without a family, in the farm business, had no chance to survive. The field crops and live stock carried the farm—its mortgage, equipment, improvements, repairs and the like—but it was the work of the women and children which provided most of the living expenses. Thus, most of the prosperity of American agriculture has rested squarely upon the backs of the women and children who worked without pay, and unless prices of farm crops advance greatly there it will continue to rest.

It is little wonder that the American farm woman feels that she should, at least, be given a chance to manage the farm in part and be allowed to choose the kind of work she shall do. She likes the custom of the whole family working together in the business of farming, and takes pride in being a real help to her husband. She is even willing, or so it seems from the letters that come to the writer, to work very hard and to accept a somewhat lower standard of living than is common in the towns, for the sake of that great end.

WORK PERFORMED BY WOMEN OF AMERICAN FARMS

Dependable figures showing the amount of work performed by women on the farms of America are not available, since most of the agencies computing women's work neglect the farm workers, or else employ such varied bases that the results are not very conclusive.

The States Relations section of the Home Economics Division of the United States Department of Agriculture reports that in 1913–14, on seventeen crop farms of Central Illinois and Indiana, women averaged less than one hour's work a day in the fields, even in the growing season. Later figures, 1921, the results of a survey of 900 farms in Nebraska, showed only 12½ per cent of the women working at all in the fields, and about 3 per cent of the children. This survey was made by the Division of Farm Population, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. Probably the least outdoor

field work is done in the corn belt and wheat raising states. States more generally given to the raising of truck crops, sugar beets, and other crops requiring much hand culture, and to live stock and dairying, would show a much higher average of work by the women and children.

A survey of 300 farms in South Carolina, in 1921, also conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, showed an average of 55 per cent of the white women working in the fields for about four and a half months a year. The average number of wives of farm tenants, working in the fields, was nearly twice that of the wives of farm owners, indicating that a rise in the social scale brought along with it the usual American taboo against field work for women. The average number of children working in the fields was about the same for farm owners and farm tenants.

The population tables of the 1920 census report, showing the women engaged in gainful occupations, give a better idea of the large part which women are now taking in the agricultural industry. In 1920, there were 247,253 women listed as general farmers. This does not include, of course, the farm wives, who are listed as of "no occupation." In the same year, 13,764 women were listed as foremen of general farms. Even assuming that many of these are widows or elder daughters carrying on after the death of the father and husband, it is evident that many women are already taking active management of farm affairs. In fact over 1,000,000 women are listed as gainfully employed on the farms of the United States. More than half of these, however, are working on the home farm.

Next to general farming, gardening and fruit growing engage the women workers, according to the 1920 census report. Over 18,000 women are employed in these pursuits, 176 being greenhouse foremen, and 163 orchard foremen. There were 140 women foremen on dairy farms, and ninety-four on stock farms; nearly 11,000 being engaged in the livestock industry as a whole. This, also, does not include the great amount of unpaid dairy work done by the farm women. Poultry raising as a gainful occupation engaged 3,336 women in 1920; unpaid poultry raisers would undoubtedly total several million, as nearly every farm woman has her flock of chickens.

THE WORK OUTLOOK FOR FARM WOMEN IN THE FUTURE

An even greater activity in the management of the farm business will probably be forced upon the farm women in the next few years, because of increasing economic necessity. The standard of living in America is steadily rising and the farm income shrinking, or barely holding its own, so that in many cases, the only hope for the farm family to maintain proper standards is for the farmer and the older children to engage in other pursuits for a part of the time. If the family remains upon the farm, the farm woman will take over much of the farm management and perhaps help with the work in the fields.

What effect these changes will have upon the social and economic life of the American country people, no one seems to know. Farming must be done by some one, and if we are to maintain American standards of living on the smaller holdings of land, at present prices for farm products, a considerable part of the family income must certainly come from sources off the farm. Otherwise the family will either be forced out and away from farm life, or forced down to peasantry and a very low standard of living.

Coöperation has long been held up as the sure cure for the farmer's ills, but like most other patent nostrums it will probably cure only in those cases in which the patient would have survived anyway. In most instances the small farmer will continue to stand upon his own feet and meet his economic problems as best he may.

SPENDING THE FARM INCOME

Although making money upon a farm under present conditions is one of the most difficult of tasks, the American farm woman knows that spending this money, for a proper value in return, is almost as difficult. One of her chief duties is to turn the hard-earned money into a living for the family, and to secure goods, of the style and durability she desires, is very difficult under present conditions.

The average village store does not adequately supply the needs of the cultured family upon the farm, and yet, they are largely dependent upon it for supplies. In a recent statement, Dr. C. J. Galpin of the United States Department of Agriculture showed that some 20,000,000 rural people are dependent upon 39,000 small towns, hamlets and villages for their buying. In other words, they are divided up into buying communities of about 500 persons—and the several stores in each village split up these units to an infinitesimal degree. Thus a competition is set up between these stores, so destructive, that often their chief task is fighting each other, rather than rendering service to their customers. City business has greatly improved its methods in the past few years, but rural town business has been at a standstill. Thus the wide-awake farmer, who has gone far in recent years in the scientific production of crops and live stock must deal with a business system that belongs to the days of the ox-cart and the flail.

Some people think that goods can be bought more cheaply in the villages, because of the low rents and low wages. But it is quite otherwise. I do not know of any country store which furnishes groceries as cheaply as do the chain-grocery stores of the cities. Many of the commodities run as much as 25 per cent higher in the village stores, and, of course, in the variety and freshness of the stock carried there is no comparison. The same thing is true of the "variety" store of the little town, which furnishes its class of goods much less efficiently and less cheaply than does the ten-cent store of the city. Likewise, the clothing and piece goods of the average village store are both high in price and low in quality.

All this is not the fault of the village storekeeper, particularly. It is simply that both he and the farmer are in the grip of an antiquated and wasteful system, and both are suffering from the ill effects. It is a bad situation, nevertheless, that the farmer, whose income is probably the lowest in America, in comparison with the service he renders to society, pays a higher price for the things he buys than does any other class.

One grievance of the farm woman is the difficulty she experiences in buying goods which the village store does not carry at all, and which the advertisers and mail-order houses do not offer in such a way that she can find what she wants and secure it.

It is true that the woman on the farm is a rather poorly trained buyer. At least this is indicated by figures recently compiled by the United States Department of Agriculture, showing that the woman on the farm who had previously lived in the city was a somewhat more efficient buyer than the country-reared woman. It must be

remembered, however, that the country woman has not had the day-by-day education in buying as has her city sister. She has been deprived of the "window-shopping," and leisurely shopping about among many stores for an article, with the opportunity to inspect the materials, before making a choice. All this is a liberal education in buying which stands the city woman in good stead in choosing values and styles, and in getting the full worth of her money.

The country woman, even if she makes a trip to the city for her buying, is hurried and disturbed by the din and confusion. She does not know the lines of goods carried by the different stores, or what are the best styles, and she frequently ends by buying things which she does not care for, at a higher price than she should pay.

Or perhaps the woman on the farm buys her clothing from a mail-order catalog, in which five-dollar dresses and fifty-dollar dresses look much the same on the pictured figures, and materials of both are described by trade-names with which she is unfamiliar. She has no basis of discrimination except the price, so she chooses the cheaper article, and then feels cheated and ill-dressed when it quickly loses its attractiveness after wear.

Yet good quality clothes are a necessity for the farm family, particularly, because their clothing is subjected to exceedingly hard wear, for in the active country life all the seams must stand a strain, the material may become muddy or wet, causing it to shrink or spot, or otherwise show its cheapness very quickly. Cheap shoes fall apart when wet, or completely lose their shape and attractiveness, and cheap furs soon look bedraggled and ugly.

Another serious difficulty for the rural woman is the buying of her house furnishings. There is so much cheap, ill-made furniture upon the market, and much of the cheap furniture finds its way into the village store. Few people realize what a difficult job it is for the woman on the farm to have a tasteful and harmonious home, unless she has the time and money for a protracted stay in the city to do her buying. She is fortunate, indeed, when she can fall back upon some local craftsman in hand-made chairs or in hand-woven rag rugs.

It is true that the women's magazines come to the farm homes, full of beautiful pictures of house-furnishings, but when the eager woman has read the alluring advertisement through, she finds at the end—"at all dealers!!" The advertiser, apparently, does not know that in fact those goods are not at the dealers of these 20,000,000 farm people, and that they are helpless to secure them without making a long and expensive trip to the city. No wonder that the farm woman sometimes feels that the boasted efficiency of American business, in quantity production and quantity selling, is quite equalled by its lack of efficiency in handling those smaller units in which she, unfortunately, finds herself.

Another reason why the farm people find fault with the quality of the factory-made articles which they buy is that, especially in the eastern sections of the United States, they come into direct comparison with articles made by hand labor. For instance, one farm woman wrote that, after using one wash boiler for thirty years, she replaced it with one which, under exactly the same conditions, lasted scarcely six months! Yet this was not the cheapest wash boiler listed in the catalog from which she ordered. It was sold at a good price and recommended for its durability! To replace it, she will have the annoyance of doing without it for a considerable time, the trouble of re-

ordering it, the expense of the money order and the express or freight charges, as well as the expense of the new boiler. Naturally she feels much more concerned about it than would a city woman, who would find replacement both cheap and easy.

The modern furniture, which sometimes falls apart in a short time, is used alongside old local-made furniture which has stood the test of rough wear for nearly a hundred years. And cheap, edgeless garden tools replace those which have come down through the family for two or three generations. This may be an unfair comparison between the goods of that past age and of this age of quantity production, but it is inevitably made upon the farm.

Another difficulty in country living is the lack of service for repairs on all mechanical appliances. When the farm family has a water system and something gets out of order, there is no plumber to be called. They must either do their own plumbing, or wait for weeks and pay out much money for a plumber to come out from the city. They repair the family sewing machine. If they have an electric light system they must do electrical repair work. The gasoline engine which charges the batteries is managed by the farm woman engineer. And more than that, as one farm woman writes, she must "mind the baby and keep up the fire in the kitchen stove, and answer the telephone and get dinner" all at the same time. She not only drives the car, but makes repairs upon it. At best, she has only her husband or the village blacksmith, who has turned over-night into a garage-keeper, to depend upon for nice adjustments.

Hence, it is most important that all automobiles and mechanical conveniences bought by country people be well made and simply constructed, with parts easily replaceable when breakage occurs. Otherwise they are out of use much of the time, are a continual annoyance, and the repairs soon equal the purchase cost of the article. In fact, the one great reason that there are so few conveniences in the country homes, is that farm people have seen them tried under country conditions and have found that they did not render service as they should.

WHY THE FARM WOMAN MOVES TO TOWN

One of the chief reasons for the great shifts in population from country to city, during the past few years, has been that the country family could not adequately change their money income into the comforts of life which they desired. It is natural that the country woman should want a home such as the city woman has. Under present conditions on the farm this is difficult to achieve, and, rather than endure the continual annoyance and expense of the conveniences when installed in the farm home, she gives up the struggle and moves to town.

Much has been said about the low economic status of the farmer who "retires" to the country town when he is scarcely past middle life, but few have remarked that one reason for his retiring is that, in the country, he cannot buy the things he wants to buy. He does not want his wife to work so hard. He wants her to have running water in her kitchen and electric lights and a well-heated house, so he spends as little as possible while he is on the farm, and puts aside his money so that he can later move to town where dependable home conveniences are to be had for a reasonable outlay.

Indeed, the present situation on American farms is in many ways discouraging. American farming is certainly in a period of transition. To

what? Nobody seems to know. The farm women will probably do their work and their spending as best they can where they are. But it will be some years before farming reaches an economic plane equal to that of other occupations requiring the same amount of skill and energy.

Yet, even at its worst, the farm has much to offer in the way of health and happy living. And, in spite of all obstacles, this new American farm woman may eventually find her way to economic independence and as high a standard of living as that prevailing in the towns.

American Women and the Printing Press

By Mary R. Beard
New York City

THIS is not an essay in literary criticism. It is not an attempt to compare an Edith Wharton, let us say, with a Gertrude Atherton of her own sex, with a male compatriot, or with European scribes. It is not an effort to appraise the observations, emotions, and dramatic power of a Katherine Mayo or a Gertrude Williams in the light of Indian portraiture by an E. M. Forster. Nor is it an analysis of imagery, stylistic devices, or vocabularies. Tones and rhythms in language, as in music, are not minimized, for a Poe will live on as a composer of verbal sounds as long as notes have an appeal. There will always be the individual to be studied intimately for the particular trend of his mind and his talent for graphic presentation. There will always be the pure singer chanting he cares not what.

Hopelessly pretentious as it may seem, this is an experiment in the evaluation of the writing by American women as a whole—as a pattern of modern mentality, interests, and force. The greatest writers of the past have been venerated as thinkers and seers. Especially is the great poet praised for his ability to pierce veils which lesser mortals fail to penetrate. Therefore, it is the inspiration and theme of which words are the medium of expression, rather than the forms which the words assume, which will be treated here. In short, it is the American woman as a thinker revealing herself on the printed page whom we shall try to examine. If she is to achieve prime and lasting distinction in Letters, she must be more than a song bird, lovely as some of those creatures may be; more than a gossip relating lively tales, absorbing as such can be; more than a collector of data and a compiler of thoughts others have had.

The colleges of the United States are crowded with aspiring youth and extension classes are filled with ambitious adults who hope to do great things with their pens. But when they have learned all the technique of organization, unity, harmony, and charm of phraseology, there will remain one essential of power that can hardly be taught—something to say. A rare Poe playing with tone can get away with nonsense. Nature with her foaming seas, her nuances of forms and colors, her effects on the human spirit will always find response in the heart of man—and woman. But the heights of literature range into realms where human beings act no less than feel and the depths of thought plunge down into the ways of mankind and into processes of life and forms of group energy.

Why did a poet, such as Josephine Preston Peabody, for example, with all her lyrical quality, fail to reach the pinnacle of enduring fame? Does she not tell us herself:

> Sometimes I don't know what to write
> —Till I begin to sing.

Obviously sheer emotion even then did not always bring that vital spark to talent which transforms it into genius.

When the need of themes was real at a stage of the Italian Renaissance,

poets were often given subjects by their patrons. Thus Isabella d'Este assigned the tender topic of a favorite little dead cat for leading poets of Italy to work upon, and with their scholarly training in classical forms they were able to fill the assignment with exquisite finesse. But such work is purely of antiquarian interest now. Moreover, in the modern age the public is the patron of Letters with requirements very different by and large. So leaving technique to the schoolmen and tone to the aesthetes, let us for the moment try to delve into that broad foundation of literary power—something to say.

THE ROAD TO PUBLICATION AS FREE TO WOMEN AS TO MEN

Lest some one emphasize the publishing end first, however—worrying about the recognition and appreciation of talent—it may be well to insist that no woman, with a good manuscript, needs to hide her light under a bushel in these times. One of the publishing houses declares that there was a period just after the sectional war in the sixties when Southern thinkers, in their defeat, were so discouraged that they had either ceased to write, or withheld their prepared work from the press through conviction that the North alone could get a hearing. This house maintains that directly, and on its own initiative, it stimulated Southern writing and thus helped to produce the literature of a Nation. Unquestionably publishers do reach out for copy and, in fact, hunt for it so avidly that anything, and almost everything penned, can be somehow printed. Booksellers do the rest—take care of the readers. A modern Christine de Pisan objecting to a Romance of the Rose, wishing to describe a monarchy, uphold a slavocracy, or express any other creed, therefore, requires no royal patron to encourage her to produce. She has a far more influential and persistent agent in the democratic makers and distributors of books. The age of democracy and the machine has spread its tentacles over Letters and sucks them in.

Keeping the hungry maw of their giant machines fed is as much a problem of publishers as of textile manufacturers or producers of boots and shoes. Their nutriment is not cotton or leather or wood, but words, words, words. And for their designers, remuneration is now so lavish in comparison with bygone ages, when writers were owned soul and body by rulers, or were the mere entertainers of princelings and ladies of noble birth, or had for their market only a little circle of intellectual friends, that the conditions of literary labor constitute a revolution. Writers rarely have to pay for the printing of their own works now, but are themselves paid, often very extravagantly, for their products.

Nor is this wide market for books discriminatory in the matter of sex. Perhaps a Southern colonel is correctly reported as still refusing to buy a volume inscribed by a woman with ink-stained fingers, but equally hard-boiled publishers rely on a market in which women are the main purchasers of books. Does not a leading house press for sales on the very score that Lady so-and-so of Newport and Hot Springs prefers this to that in the way of reading and make-up? Much as Isabella of Mantua would have been asked to set her stamp in the late fifteenth century on the output of Aldo Manuzzio of Venice. Besides, women are now in the publishing business themselves. They write, they sell, they edit, they review, they buy, they read. For the archaic atmosphere of Arms and the Man, it sometimes seems as if we might develop an intel-

lectual climate dominated by Books and the Woman.

So the market is greedy for material. The field is free and open to the sexes alike. There was never a time when an excellent manuscript was so little in peril of being refused. Publishers were never so eager for artistry, for freshness of view, for originality, for scholarship, for the findings of experience, for wisdom, for speculation of every sort. With the passing of Puritan taboos, even sensations are courted where formerly they were looked at askance. If, therefore, in the elaborate series of social, literary and scientific works, prepared by "experts," to which publishers are turning with increased interest, the writers are mainly or exclusively men, it is not because of prejudice by the editors and publishers, but because women seem not as yet to have that combination of learning and wisdom which makes them authoritative in such fields. They may write gracefully, but they are apt to think too gracefully as well. Even on the subject of the Family, it is difficult to draw in a woman commentator of equal distinction with a Havelock Ellis, and Robert Briffault has done the big work on Mothers.

The Literary Woman Not a New Phenomenon

And yet the precedents for feminine self-expression run back through all the ages since the art of writing was invented. The literary woman of today is no exotic phenomenon. She is no more the first writer of her sex than the contemporary man of letters is the pioneer among men. The era may witness the first female engineer, motor truck chauffeur, radio broadcaster, head of an aviation school, or federal prohibition officer, but it has not produced the first thinking, creative, and writing woman by any means. In the ancient world, long studied in classical texts, Sappho was ranked with Homer by Aristotle, "master of them that knew." And throughout the cycles that have intervened between the days of Greek pride and our own, women have recorded on parchment and paper, by stylus and brush, with pen or with typewriter, their impressions of the Passing Show and their hopes and fears for the morrow. Into the little stream of philosophic thought have flowed scientific treatises, comments on political events, analyses of the roots of literature, dramatic concepts, and many other varieties of mental exercise.

The Background of American Women

But women of the ancient and medieval societies did not exhaust the experiences of human life and therefore all the reasoning about it. American women have had unique adventures and opportunities. Beside traditional revolutions, civil war, foreign alliances and fighting, they have helped in shaping a republic and have been political equals in a democracy. They have been pioneers of a peculiar sort, agitators, reformers, belligerents introducing new elements of warfare, educators, scientists with novel laboratory equipment, professionals, technicians, travelers, leisured ladies with cash at their disposal, slave owners in their own right, spenders on an unheard of scale, industrial workers, capitalists, politicians and office-holders of high degree. These enterprises make up a wealth of active experience which would appear to be material rich enough for the making of a new mind, if we knew how minds are made.

Nor have American women been deprived of education. Before the epoch of public schools and collegiate training for their sex, they got much the same introduction to philosophy,

art, science, and letters as did men, through routes then customary, such as private tutors, travel, and libraries in the home. Great political and social movements they learned through their skins. Discussion took place at firesides, which often surpassed in scope and profundity that now heard in public forums. There were fewer distractions, such as cinemas and automobiles and flying ships. Reading and thinking were reputable. No scholastic professor was needed to enlighten Mercy Otis Warren or Abigail Adams on the origin and development of the American Revolution, for example, though, of course, they did not exclude the authoritative Locke from their studies of rebels. Their written comments on the independence movement and its objects were not subjected to the criticisms of schoolmen prior to publication, nor were they monographs born in a seminar. But later American women have had the formal advantages of sitting under masters—presumably masters at any rate. And occasionally groups of philosophers composed of both sexes—such as the Transcendentalists of Cambridge—have opened their minds and hearts to one another much as they must have done in Athens or in Italy of the long ago.

So leading questions arise with respect to the literary output of American women as a whole. Has the printing press forced out fine latent genius? Has it led women to reveal more of their own minds and talents? Have they written much as their forebears wrote notwithstanding this new tool for distribution and its rewards? Have they talked through Letters to the masses as they once talked to the classes who alone could comprehend them? Have they looked at their age in the large and tried to project the future? Or are they mainly concerned with the immediate and the transient?

WHO WRITES IN AMERICA AND WHAT?

It is possible to begin an answer with something like a quantity measurement if we limit our discussion to books. The annual production of books, by women, is now what would be registered in previous records only over long, long cycles. Women undoubtedly take generous advantage of the printing press. But not as much as men. Their output rates something close to one book by a woman to seven books by men. Since the sex which has the greater leisure thus writes the less, clearly free time is not the root of literature in an epoch of democracy, if it ever was. Just the reverse is true indeed. Work and responsibility are the underlying impulses to literary expression as figures amply prove.

Who then are the women who have written and who continue to write in the modern era in America? What is their background? How much of their time is devoted to thinking and setting down their thoughts? Are there professional thinkers in the sex?

Apparently ladies of the leisure class take up their pens very little in their free hours. They remain mostly languorists or motorists instead of becoming thinkers, or lively writers of any sort. This is as true by and large of the capitalist lady as it was true of the lady of slavery days. The very study of *The Lady* herself as a social product was made by a teacher, Emily James Putnam. Not until some tremendous social upheaval comes along to jar their status and intensify their feelings do they develop beyond the simplest creatures of soft circumstance. Southern ladies began to find something to say when the American fratricidal war tore them loose from their old moorings and they had to look at the Black

Gauntlet in retrospect, relate their sufferings during sieges in Vicksburg and elsewhere, write biographies of confederate heroes, record their adventures and observations as army nurses, testify to the aftermath of abolition and economic devastation, or hold up to the young generation the mirror of historical truth as they themselves had framed it.

Among Northern ladies of the leisure class, Jane Addams is a shining exception. She was lifted from potential complacency by a realization of the significance of the class cleavage, even in her own country, and she had the mental and physical energy to try to bridge the chasm she saw yawning between them. She turned, therefore, from the idleness, which could have been hers, to social work among the tiny children of the city streets, among industrial laborers, and among distraught aliens. To all such she became so much more than a dominant Little Father of all the Russias —a Great Mother of the Poor, writing of them as well as toiling for them. Her published theses include: *Democracy and Social Ethics*, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, *The Subjective Value of Social Settlements* and *Why Women Are Concerned with the Larger Citizenship*.

Authors springing from this estate, when forceful enough to comprehend something well and present it effectively, have generally developed into professional writers. Some of the most vigorous social portraiture has come from The Woman of Letters. Edith Wharton's preoccupation with the rise of divorce in reputable ruling circles, with the manners of the nouveaux riches at home and abroad, with their age of innocence, and general manifestations of internecine class strife, has resulted in masterful canvases of the times that were gilded by the rawest capitalism. And out of her labor has also come one of the most penetrating volumes in the international literature of the soil—*Ethan Frome, a story of mother earth and her claims*.

A species of semi-leisured woman has done fair occasional work. If "lives of great men all remind us we must make our lives sublime," so do wives of great men frequently see to it that we remember this adage and select their husbands for the models. Occasionally wives have worked along the same line as their husbands and have thus been particularly competent biographers of them. Such was Mrs. Louis Agassiz, as a single illustration. The fact of kinship, close association, racial affinity, or strong intellectual sympathy, explains most of the biographical selection and treatment of masculine personalities by women. Their favorites among their countrymen include the celebrated father of us all, George Washington, Charles Bulfinch, Louis Agassiz, Abraham Lincoln, Horace Mann, Charles Lowe, George P. Marsh, General Lee, Samuel F. B. Morse, Stonewall Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Whittier, Dr. Channing, A. B. Alcott, Charles Sumner, Governor Allen of Louisiana, Theodore Parker, Dean Stanley, John Wellborn Root, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Thomas Appleton, Senator Thomas Benton, Henry Ward Beecher, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Aaron Burr. Their foreign favorites include Christopher Columbus, Lorenzo Di Medici, Leonardo da Vinci, Petrarch, Dante, Luther, Balzac, Felix Mendelssohn, and William the Silent.

But women are not wholly beyond the ken of women. Marie Antoinette, Mme. de Staël, Mme. Roland, Mme. Sévigné, George Sand, Mme. Guyon, Lady Russell, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mary Wollstonecraft, Kath-

erine the Great, and Queen Victoria are among their European exemplars. And for their American credoes they have chosen Martha Washington, Charlotte Cushman, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Maria Edgeworth, Margaret Fuller, Victoria Claflin Woodhull, Dolly Madison, Mercy Otis Warren, Anne Bradstreet, Louisa Alcott, and Laura Bridgeman. Space has been given to these lists because they seem to indicate trends of feminine interest and thought with regard to persons and historical periods. A few autobiographical confessions supply some of the self-revelation foreigners look for among Americans with so little success—Lucy Larcom's story of her girlhood and factory life in its early stages in New England, Helen Woodward's and Alice Foote Macdougal's accounts of their careers as business women, and certain partially autobiographical memories of the stage by actresses.

Wives of professional men whom no one accuses of belonging to the leisure class have earned some pin money while their husbands taught, lectured, doctored, legislated, or served in army officialdom. Among the books by faculty wives we may report moral and religious tales, juveniles, sketches, novels, translations, hymns and fantasies. There is some competent work on the list, such as *Woman as a Musician* by the wife of a professor of music at Vassar, *The Poetry of Hebrew Tradition* by the wife of a theological teacher at Tufts. A very popular satire called *Female Quixotism* was conceived by the wife of a noted doctor at Exeter, Mrs. Tabitha Tenney, born in New Hampshire in 1762. The wife of R. H. Stoddard, Elizabeth Stoddard, produced novels and poetry worthy of a place beside her companion's poetry and criticism. General George Spencer, United States Army, had two penwomen wives. The first, who apparently did not thrive in his environment, wrote three novels bearing on their relations—*Ora, the Lost Wife; Tried and True;* and *Surface and Depth.* But the second dealt only with Calamity Jane and her ilk—perhaps extraneous romancing. The wife of an Illinois Senator varied her novel writing with songs of the sea.

Wives who move over the world with adventuring husbands have left many records of their encounters with "queer folks" of their own and other races. Indian scouts, frontier guards, western pioneers, missionaries, consuls, diplomats, merchants, travelers and explorers, have had women companions limning the strange peoples, describing the adventures, the novel scenes and customs, and reactions to the shocks of discovery. Shock, in other words, has been both a fruitful and patient source of Letters as race has met race, Boston has moved to Michigan, or Montana, or California, Americans have discovered India, China, Java, Japan. A wife of a Standard Oil trader in the Orient by *The City of the Long Sand* sighs for Main Streets which she would plant over all the Celestial Empire. Others try to interpret Confucian or Buddhist religions which they learn have excellent points. Others simply recite episodes and find their exotic types of servant the exciting event in their lives.

Recently it has become a fashion for women to explore the ends of the earth on their own initiative and report what they encounter. Indeed the organization of the Society of Women Geographers marks the rise of an imposing group of such globe-trotting authors, one of the most daring of whom is Blair Niles, who performed the unique and courageous feat of penetrating the French penal colony on Devil's Island and letting the world know more of its horrors. More

Japanophile, it seems, than a Nipponese was a recent woman sojourner among the cherry blossoms who positively embarrassed the liberal youth movement by her unqualified endorsements of everything Japanese. Chineseophile was yet another who chose for a title "Through the Eyes of the East"—a title which might more appropriately have been Through the Eyes of the West, since the viewpoint of Hu Shih, a leading native, seems so contradictory to hers on essential points.

As it happens, it has required scarcely less effort and will for Americans to understand one another than to comprehend aliens. Mrs. Kirkland, from the Eastern seaboard, pioneering in Michigan, who made one of the most valiant attempts in *Aristocracy in Western Clearings*, says:

> The great ones of the earth might learn many things from the little. What has a certain dignity on a comparatively large scale, is so simply laughable when it is seen in miniature(and, unlike most other things, perhaps, the real features are better distinguished in the small) that it must be wholesome to observe how what we love appears in those whom we do not admire, The monkey and the magpie are imitators, and when the one makes a thousand superfluous bows and grimaces, and the other hoards what can be of no possible use to him, we may, even in those, see a far reflex of certain things prevalent among ourselves. Next in order come little children. . . . But what affords us most amusement, is the awkward attempt of the rustic to copy the airs and graces which have caught his fancy as he saw them exhibited in the town; or, still more naturally, those which have been displayed on purpose to dazzle him, during the stay of some "mould of fashion" in the country. . . . How the true hugs himself in full belief that the gulf between himself and the pseudo is impassable! Little dreams he that his own ill-directed longings after the distingue in air or in position seem to some more fortunate individual as far from being accomplished as those of the rustic himself, while both, perhaps, owe more to the tailor and milliner than to any more dignified source.

She draws other charming pictures of the contrast between American theories of democratic equality and practices. She places on the same intellectual level a Russian noble of the old régime, who refused to let his daughter smile upon a suitor, whose breast was not covered with orders, and the woman who takes in sewing in America but refuses to associate with the woman who goes out to sew.

Amid all the interchange of comments and reactions as race has met race, East met West, North met South, and Americans met Americans, some minds have remained sensitive to the appeal or significance of the familiar. While Massachusetts women have been the quantity producers and, scattering to the four winds with or without husbands, have brought home ideas as their men brought wares, a few stay-at-homes have told us how they felt among their neighbors. Can it be that they were challenging their more wayward sisters of the pen? "Write while your impressions are hot" was not the slogan at least for Sarah Orne Jewett, long noted for her local color sketches of New England. In the work of homebodies steeped in the moods and lore of their own communities much talent has been shown and trenchant interpretation rendered. Willa Cather, among contemporaries, stands preëminent for her pictures of Nebraska folk, while Zona Gale, with friendship drawings of Michigan neighbors, has long been popular. Ruth Suckow has a starker mind among a lowlier humanity. Fannie Hurst transmits the glow of Hebraic kindred with occasional dashing innovations, such as *Lummox*, an epic of the servant girl, and an experiment

with that most difficult of novels, the political romance. Hardly a section of the American continent has failed to come under the spell of local women who, in the main, have tried to paint their people with understanding rather than contempt. This was not so true of Sarah Greene, whose first novel, *Cape Cod Folks*, aroused so much resentment that no end of litigation followed. And Lydia Maria Child was one of those who wanted to blot slavery, at least, from the landscape. Where James Fenimore Cooper saw Indians chiefly and turned them into fantasy, she concentrated on Negroes and turned abhorrence of bondage into abolitionist tracts.

While Mrs. Child does not start the huge woman's library of agitation literature, she was one of its earliest and most impassioned contributors. In this rich field of Letters we find activists tilling the soil for crops of education, temperance, emancipation of slaves, women and laborers, industrial and social reform, political and economic equality, and international peace. Incomparable orations on Church and State as they relate to women were delivered by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Frances Willard drove the cohorts of prohibition forward on their campaign. Carrie Chapman Catt exposed the secret machinations of certain enemies of woman suffrage. Pictures of the steel workers were eternally inscribed by Mary Heaton Vorse. One can only suggest to the reader a turning-over of the catalogue of volumes that make up this enormous library of agitation, with its appeals to the public to lift their human kind out of slavery, sweat shops, civil and political disabilities, prison horrors, and drunken drives. The latest crusade is that for the amicable settlement of international brawls following the persistent calls to the masses to become in every way tolerant, temperate, free, generous, humanistic, sympathetic, and reasonable. Charlotte Perkins Gilman could handle both the grave and the gay attack on bigotry, and use every kind of medium —verse, essay, novel. No other women forecast so well the domestic results of woman's economic independence.

Then, like a century plant blooming after careful nurture and tireless waiting, come young women singing of the freedom secured by the great sisterhood of agitators. It is a long, long way from Anne Bradstreet, born in 1650 to be the "Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America," who compiled poems with "great variety of wit and learning, full of delight," to Dorothy Parker glorying in "Enough Rope" at the second quarter of the twentieth century. The latter with her free running liberties is almost at the opposite pole even from the Victorian Elizabeth Barrett Browning with her close loyalties. Says Dorothy:

> A heart in half is chaste, archaic;
> But mine resembles a mosaic.

And her reviewer says:

> What the devil can you do with such a girl? You can be moved to sympathy by some expression of evident distress, or to admiration for some gallantry of attitude, or to gravity at an occasional tenderness—and then she flips a last line at you like a little carmine firecracker exploding under your nose.

Full flower of flapperdom in a feminist age! Edna St. Vincent Millay, her forerunner, now grown more sober under the fire of public tragedies, such as the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, demonstrates freedom maturing into responsibility—fortunately with artistry retained.

The poetic route which lies from Bradstreet to Parker has many blazed trails leading along important byways.

For instance, Negroes lift their voices both in bondage and in freedom. Phillis Wheatley Peters in 1754, a slave, composes on paper while her people sing on the plantations. New melodies, redolent of servitude, but born of the surging present and problematical future, pour now from the spirits of freed Negro women, as they labor in industry and arts. Jewish elements in the American melting pot also enrich the stream of poetry, as is demonstrated in the *Songs of a Semite*, by Emma Lazarus. Catholics have had many representatives. Two psychic natures have explained their transmigrated souls: Lizzie Doten, spiritualist of the ante-bellum days, who considered herself a medium for Shakespeare, Burns, and Poe, and Elinor Wylie, post-World War poet, who believed herself the embodiment of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Eunice Tietjens has given us reactions of a traveler-poet in distant lands. Predecessors have told us how they felt on the first sight of the prairies, the desert, the California coast. The private secretary to Longfellow wrote *Suwannee River Tales* and dialect poetry, while Henry was working on Indians. When a Southern patriot was having her poems publicly burned for their possible incitement to riots, a woman in the North was penning army lyrics for military occasions, but she also indulged in an eulogy of Webster and something on the Last Days of Jesus. All poets did not take her view of war, however, for Katrina Trask and Katherine Lee Bates hymned the glories of peace which had its victories, we are assured, no less than war.

Of course, it is hard to evaluate the bulk of belles lettres, pure and impure, simple and complex. One is confident that there have been no better raconteurs in the western world than Mary Roberts Rhinehart, who knows where and how to find adventure and how to carry readers along. Studies of genius in the hands of Gertrude Atherton are works to be treasured, whether it be an American statesman who is analyzed and dramatized, or Pericles, Aspasia and Alcibiades, of the classical age. Susan Glaspell's excursions into feministic, impressionistic drama follow as a genuine evolutionary process from the work of Anna Ritchie in the early stages of democracy when the free farmer was battling for survival.

But when the National Library at Washington reports for the year 1928 that because of the immense amount of literary and artistic rubbish which is neither literature nor art, the portion adopted into the collections of the library proper, during the past quarter of a century, represents only a deliberately selected fraction of the whole, with 102,895 volumes returned to their authors at their request, instead of being destroyed with other thousands, clearly a ruthlessly deliberate selection must be made to fit this page.

Democracy the Great Impulse

What seems to be an outstanding fact is that, with rare exceptions, such as an Elinor Wylie writing poems and novels for the more precious classes, and an Emily Dickinson jotting down philosophy for her own soul's sake, American women think for the masses, about immediate movements, and as a consequence of concepts of democracy. In a recent book a Frenchman criticizes all the writers of the United States for this very situation: that democracy and the masses preëmpt so large a place in our thought and literature; that our writing is so slightly representative of individual aloofness in time and space; that idle curiosity and speculation divorced from utility play so scant a rôle in our Letters.

His charge has a good basis and it applies magnificently to women. A part of the equalitarian, libertarian, modern age, with its mass strivings and aspirations, women have labored with their pens to deliver messages to the wide public, paint warm portraits of their countryfolk and their interests, reveal social realities and suggest reforms, provide students with equipment for the higher literacy, help the Americans make up their cultural lag, and emphasize the function of the female in civilization. That is no mean accomplishment in itself! It is a lively by-product of the printing press, political enfranchisement, new forms of economic enterprise, and the investigative temper of the contemporary era. It is a natural and healthy expression of the people, by the people, for the people.

Perhaps we can best visualize this democracy thinking of itself, and talking to itself, if we see it as a sort of modernized Canterbury procession in which literary pilgrims relate their own stories of what they have sought to express and why. Of course there are many new types of pilgrims in this parade of American penwomen, representing the past three hundred years. With nuns and wives in hordes, if none from Bath, pass in review, novel creatures undreamed in Chaucerian times. They included women teachers, preachers, doctors, psychoanalysts, "child diagnosticians," journalists, actresses, librarians, civil servants, lawyers, missionaries, nurses, social workers, and explorers in countless realms.

They tell us how they have tried to stimulate romanticism among juveniles, hitherto restricted to tales of war and death; enlarge parental culture; prepare the materials for teaching in the departments of history, art, literature, science, religion, music, pedagogy, and psychology; guide the masses through the mazes of religious mysticism from their own vantage points as Unitarians, Catholics, Methodist Evangelists, Christian Scientists, or disciples of the Buddha; excavate and observe in classical lands, Mexico and the Orient, and record their findings of primitive and ancient peoples in the spirit of archaeologists and ethnologists; bring a knowledge of the races of man up to date by means of contemporary data; depict the stage in its evolving molds; describe the "see-saw" of politics at Washington; summarize medical practices and inject medical opinions into homes, church and state; advance legal concepts and ethics; work social changes particularly affecting sex and youth; promote enthusiasm for science through treatises on plants and animals, chemistry, microscopy and sanitation render aid in the process of orientating industrial classes into the art and learning of the masters who worked in the centuries which preceded the machine; explain insurgency in art and literature; discuss the century of the woman and the child with a new understanding born of modern conditions and recent theory; pass out improved first aids to homemakers; submit to the printed forum matters they have dealt with on the platform, such as art, sex, literature, music, travel, science, man, woman, and manners.

While these innumerable and rather solemn reports of social obligation and responsibility show that women of the democratic age have not "soldiered on the job," little escapades, on the side, disclose them in their hours of play. For instance, a librarian sings strains from her lyrical release behind the heavy shelves where she was presumably absorbed in the concoction of reading courses for earnest adult inquirers—and when she reveals

what she sang, "Oh, ye noble pilgrims, hear!" Now a bespectacled spinster teaching little children the alphabet unfolds snatches from the novels she has plotted, when she retired to her room at night—and how the fields echo with joy at her freedom! Again, a journalist, shaping for her daily bread, human interest narratives, gleaned at police courts, or in the morgue, describes the type of romance she has conceived to test her true gifts of imagination—and how one's hair rises or slinks back into old-fashioned primness, at the demonstration of the subconscious! Yes, there are democratic vagaries and transgressions from the path of strict rectitude no less than solemnities and duties represented in this parade of American penwomen—lilts of rhyme as a woman longs for the quiet countryside, when urban public health binds her to city pavements; confessional revelations of how business women look on business men; how it feels to be a woman of fifty after one has toiled so hard to know what eight million working women want, and followed that up with a session in the company of a woman's battalion of death!

That none of this expression in words of a republican-democratic-machine era resembles or approaches Aristotelian thinking, which drew all existing learning into a composite whole, or Platonic philosophy seeking to create the perfect State, or German idealism endeavoring to achieve unity and morale on a basis of racial culture, or Ruskinian satire and aesthetic confidence, or Carlylean rage at new forms of energy, or Voltairean analysis of Church and State and the antagonisms of superstition and science, or a Buckle synthesis of the harmony underlying manifestations of economics, politics and taste may be due to other things than a second-rate quality of brain. Certainly symbolic logic which has evoked the dominating systems of thought in the past has been essentially a masculine pursuit. What the Greeks started, the theologians of Europe carried on for their particular ends, and scientifically-inclined logicians retaining theological bent later adapted to newer times and purposes. But curiously, too, the male philosophers have all been concerned with principles and laws of aesthetics—standards of the sublime and the beautiful, differentiations between good and evil, speculations with regard to the transient and the permanent. And often politics lies at the core of their broadest generalizations.

It may be that American women have been too involved in making democracy vocal, democratic and intelligent about itself to have had time for wide-ranging sweeps of philosophical and critical fancy with views of humanity and life universally considered. It may be that so-called idle curiosity must abide an idler hour for the digestion of experiences so strange as those of the modern age. It is possible that there is no such thing as genuinely idle curiosity, or at any rate that what appears to be idle at the finish did not begin that way—that the original impulse was not detached—and that the subtler involutions of logical thought, in the large, are at bottom really a professional pastime akin to the tortuous mental exercises that went on within medieval cloisters. A third "ponderable" might be the fact that women have long been on the periphery of politics, not very close to its heart. The question at least forces itself to the front as to whether it is an intuitive or a biological variation that holds women so loyally to the realm of the practical merely embroidered in their Letters with gossip,

romanticism, movement, and personalities.

In the meantime while an answer is awaited, we may assume that, if the heights of reasoning, as heights have hitherto been defined, are to be ultimately attained by American women, they will be reached only through the avenue of experience. This truth certain college women in the departments of philosophy are pointing out themselves. In the *Significance of Art*, by Eleanor Rowland, we read that "Art is the great sensitive intelligence" and that only he who is so entangled with life that he is indifferent to knowing it, can turn his back on that pure mirrorer of his own activities. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, in her thesis for the doctorate of philosophy, carries the question of aesthetic experience forward to its functional relation with immediate working experience, and shows how incidentally and lightly that particular relation has hitherto been treated. She argues, that until now,

> Functional psychology has dealt with the act of attention; in logic with the process of judgment; in ethics with the winning of new ends for conduct; in metaphysics with the problems of epistemology, rather than with the problems of ontology.

Believing, however brashly, that the last words, law and reasoning have not been established, even by masculine minds as yet, Dr. Adams puts fresh queries and helps to launch American feminism on its task of thinking in a century when traditional standards of aesthetics and the good life have received such terrific jolts.

Mary Follett tackles the New State, if not the perfect State, arguing for certain advantages of group organization in the solution of popular government. In her Creative Experience she sets limits to pragmatic jurisprudence, indicates parallel developments in psychology and law and concludes that participation with all its conflicts and diversities is the root of constructive intelligence and the social process par excellence. "Foolish indeed are those who do not bring oil to its [experience's] burning," she insists, "for only thus can new and great powers be summoned." In the "confronting and integrating" of new desires born of new activities, she sees a release of energy which by one and the same movement raises itself to a higher level. Other evidences of an advance from the periphery, to the center of fields, deep plowed by men, are such volumes as those by Ethel Puffer on the *Psychology of Beauty* and *Studies in Symmetry*, and Katherine Gilbert's work in recent aesthetics.

Thus the age of the machine, democracy, and feminism promises to call forth something supplementary to or critical of the systems of philosophy hitherto erected, mainly by men in eras of simple economics and monopolistic politics. Great thinkers and writers have never been sheer spectators of the pageantry of life. The Greek philosophers were statesmen and teachers, transmitting first hand knowledge of clashes and events in terms of ethics and social law. German philosophers often show direct traces of nationalistic and economic politics. French philosophers of the first rank drew their rationalistic enthusiasms from the conflict opening between magic and naturalistic discoveries. Ruskin reached synthetic reasoning as an artist posing questions of values to an onrushing industrial culture. In the very heart of the latest society's novel energies, surely women will in turn find more to think and to say that transcends gossip, song, story, and the incident of the hour.

Some Effects of Woman Suffrage

By Marguerite M. Wells
Director, Fifth District, National League of Women Voters

THE conspicuous contribution of enfranchised women has not been in the size of the vote they have cast. Why should it be! It takes more than eight years to break a tradition of exclusion from public affairs. No one knows, moreover, in what numbers women really vote. Ballots are not often separately kept. A few painstaking surveys of voting habits have been made. Women made them. Surveys made over a period of three and one-half years in ten sample places, all previous to the last presidential election, show that 56 per cent of the eligible women voters have voting habits as compared with 76 per cent of the eligible men voters.

It seems that it is only gradually that women are acquiring voting habits. Even more gradually are they acquiring habits of general political activity. There, the disparity between men and women voters is even greater than at the polls. In the parties, especially in their inner circles, among professional politicians, in conventions, in the precinct machine, women are few and far between. Women office holders, even women candidates for office, are the exception, not the rule. How can it be otherwise? Adepts object to novices, and novices have to overcome a good deal of reluctance before they rush in where neither fools nor angels are very much wanted.

Such is the general situation. It is precisely what was to be expected. It is not, as the saying goes, news. It is, rather, news that to this general situation there is already an impressive array of exceptions. There are already thousands of women office holders; some appointive; some elective. They vary from sheriff to justice of a state supreme court.

In minor local offices women are actually almost numerous. There are county and municipal clerks, treasurers, auditors, and registers of deeds. That there should be many women county superintendents of schools was to be expected. That in certain regions these already outnumber men, is interesting. There are women aldermen—even so large a city as Cleveland has one. There have been women mayors—a dozen of them. There are a few women state officials. There have been two women governors. There are women legislators—one hundred and forty-nine in all; twenty in Connecticut alone. There have been two women state auditors, two state treasurers, and six secretaries of state.

There have been thirteen women in the Congress, of whom eight are now serving in the House. There is an impressive roll call of women who have been appointed to federal positions: several collectors of customs; one collector of internal revenue; one commissioner of immigration. There are several chiefs of federal bureaus, among them Miss Mary Anderson and Miss Grace Abbott. There is a woman assistant to the United States Attorney General, Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

There are women in the judicial service, several judges in municipal court, several probate judges. A woman has been twice elected to the Supreme Court of Ohio. Even in our foreign service there are women exemplars. We have a woman vice

consul at Amsterdam and one at Valparaiso, Chile.

Many of these women are making distinguished contributions to public life. Probably there is not one of them, even the least of a feminist among them, whose contribution is not somewhat colored by the fact that she is a woman, and newly enfranchised. They are so few, however, and so conspicuously in the public eye, that it is better not to try to analyze at present.

Generalities are safer, generalities about women in the parties, in the machine, on party committees. In general, it may be said that the women who have advanced farthest in the present man-made political world have done so by dint of adaptation. They cannot, so few of them, so soon, have had upon the organized political life of the country any considerable effect.

It may be that the infiltration will continue to be so gradual and the absorption so complete that the enfranchisement of women will result in no change at all in American political life. If this happens it will, in my opinion, be an opportunity lost. Every individual, every class, every group, even each sex, has its own contribution to make to life. It has been the popular idea that a difference exists between men and women voters. Popular opinion seems to be borne out by the facts. It may be only a difference of degree, or of emphasis. The difference may lie no deeper than occupation, or the date in time of coming into the electorate. No matter; a new element enters American political life, and out of it there ought to be an advantage to reap.

It is neither pessimistic nor unpatriotic, and certainly it is not original to admit that in our political life there is room for improvement. If only by upsetting the political equilibrium, it is conceivable that an influx of new voters might be the occasion for it. There used to be a good deal of talk, most of it by men, about women purifying politics. Purification was looked for through the exercise—no, not the exercise—the mere possession of some superior and usually unnamed virtues. It is not necessary to take such an idea seriously in order to hope that the new voter may possess certain qualities, or experiences, or interests that may serve as the occasion for new tendencies in American political life.

What tendencies and in what direction? Upon this question the eight-year period since enfranchisement has thrown a few beams of light. It has shown, for instance, rather to the dismay of the occasional woman high up in party circles, that women in general are rather cold to the allurements of politics as a game. The *Chicago Post* recently referred to the work of a certain woman's organization as "the nearest approximation to making politics a science, rather than a game, which is to be found in America today."

WOMEN AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

A zest for studying the science of politics, not for playing the game of politics, that is what seems to have taken hold on the new feminine electorate. All sorts of women's clubs and societies organized for various and sundry purposes, immediately upon enfranchisement added to their programs the study of citizenship. It was partly the novelty of the thing, of course. For two or three years these short courses in becoming a voter flourished. Then, as adjuncts to organizations formed for other purposes, they waned. Indeed the net effect of suffrage on many clubs has been that they are less, rather than more prone

to "take action" on political questions. Their members have become politically sophisticated to the point of knowing the difference between effective and ineffective political action. When now these wish to be effective they do not ask their mother's clubs and literary clubs nor even their professional organizations to "resolute." They use such organizations for the purpose for which they were intended and for political action, seek other channels.

Two organizations at least have been founded since enfranchisement and based upon it. One, the Woman's Party, comparatively small, successor to the militant suffragists, which, in spite of its name, does not profess to be really a woman's party, is chiefly occupied in advocacy of the constitutional amendment proclaiming the principle of complete equality between the sexes.

The League of Women Voters, an unpartisan organization, was formed immediately after enfranchisement in order to make the new voter more effective. It bears evidence in its steady increase in growth and vigor that the wave of enthusiasm for political education which followed enfranchisement has in receding left behind a deep and persistent stream of interest in government as a science. From its national headquarters this organization has, in the nine years of its existence, distributed a round million pamphlets in the field of government. Many thousands more have gone out from other centers. Based upon such material, classes and study groups are held not alone at the time of elections, but also throughout the year. Such classes number many hundreds each year. During the nine years a thousand schools of citizenship, each of several days' duration, have been held. State, local, and national units of the organization publish also monthly bulletins of political information with estimated circulation of two hundred and fifty thousand.

This is a sign of the brand new thing that the coming into the electorate of a multitude of new voters has produced. If it persists and spreads, taking many forms and inoculating men as well as women, it may be the one great contribution made by the extension of suffrage to women.

Meantime, let us see what directions this renaissance of an interest in government is taking. Owing to the procedure by which the League of Women Voters makes up its program, it is possible to judge from it which among current political interests is making an appeal to women. Conspicuous among subjects upon which this organization has, over several years of time, been generally active, are such items as: abolition of child labor, extension of education for infancy-and-maternity hygiene, improvement in election and nominating methods, improvement in city and state machinery of government, doing away with the obsolete system of a lame-duck session of Congress, jury service for women, disposition of the nation's property at Muscle Shoals with due regard to public interest, adhesion of the United States to the World Court and to the Pact of Paris, and the negotiation of inter-American arbitration treaties.

Social reform, political reform, prevention of war, under one or the other of these heads, most of the measures listed above as selected for action by general vote of a women's unpartisan political organization, fall.

WOMEN AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

It is to be noted that these measures emphasized by women carry a public and not a special interest. Generally speaking, women who are occupying

themselves with politics are not impelled by special economic advantage. In the majority of families men are still the bread winners and women know that in politics, as in private affairs, they are looking after the family's economic interests. To advance or to protect these, American men have been in the habit of going into politics. This tradition had its rise in early day conditions, when to develop the country was everybody's first patriotic duty. It was easy to rationalize this duty into using government in behalf of private enterprise. Private enterprise, of course, in a new country of unlimited natural resources was what men of ability went in for. They did not seek scope for their talent, nor satisfaction for ambition, in a public career.

It has always been the hope that with a developing civilization this phase would pass, and men would enter public life out of concern for public welfare or interest in government as a science. Either the time has not come, or the tradition is too strong. Now it looks as though the tradition might be broken by the coming into the electorate of a group of people who never shared it. Women's talents have never been absorbed by business. Enfranchisement offers scope for them in the pursuit of politics as a career of public service.

Women and Social Welfare

Because of her traditional occupation, it was to be expected that the new voter would bring to political affairs a new concern for social welfare. The factors of social welfare, health, education, care of children, these are what women know about. It is knowing about things that directs political interests; it is not knowing about them that explains political indifference. The male voter's comparative indifference to social problems in government is due to ignorance of them in terms of experience. The way to win his interest, women are learning, is not to translate them into terms of dollars and cents, but to take the man to the situation, or the situation to the man, whether it is a playground, a baby clinic, or an overworked factory child. I have a mental picture, now, of women suppliants before a "hard-boiled" appropriation committee trying to prove the monetary value to the state of a citizen not sick but well, not ignorant but educated, not a ward in an institution, but self-supporting. These women were feeling for a pocket nerve, which, in terms of state expenditure, was much too remote to be touched. The simple thing they needed to do, it turned out, was to come down to cases and tell their story in terms of personal misery and happiness.

Women and Political Reform

Reform in this country has a bad name. Political reform with us, too often, stands for ousting one set of officials whose scandals have aroused the indignation of even the patient American public, in order to supplant them by a reform administration. The reformers are likely to be tyros in politics, well-meaning, but inexperienced. Upon taking office they are deserted by those who, during the campaign, supported them; they are left to the tender mercies of the professional politician and, too often, their administration is a failure. Reform as such suffers a setback.

In other countries political reform may have a broader connotation. In England, for instance, reform measures, reform movements, reform ministers, and reform government are terms of respect even to those who resist them. They represent definite political policies, championed by leaders who stake

their own reputation upon them and accept as many defeats as are necessary to eventual success. In other words, reform in such countries means gradual improvement in government through long continued educational effort, led by men who have an interest in government for its own sake. In this sense, better nominating methods, changes in election machinery, new or improved city charters, reorganized state departments, modernized budget systems, abolition of the lame-duck session of Congress, these movements which have found support among the newly enfranchised women, are political reforms. To this good work of political reform in its best sense, women seem actually to have made a real, if small, contribution. It was a women's group that, a year ago, saved from the attack of selfish politicians the city manager plan of government in Cleveland. It was a group of women that, five years ago, initiated and led popular support of a successful movement for a reorganization of state departments in Minnesota; several previous attempts made before the enfranchisement of women having failed.

"Women are naturally housekeepers," is a popular explanation for this unexpected direction of their interest. It is an explanation that leaves unexplained the comparative apathy of good business men to good business methods in government. "New brooms sweep clean," is another explanation. If it is only that, it is due to subside as novelty wears off. But even then it will have served a purpose. It will have tended to keep alive, or to revive, the very faint flame of interest in government for government's sake that is never quite extinguished even in our country where we leave so much to the professional politician. To change the figure of speech, this little jet of interest in political reform may serve as the pint of water to prime the old pump; it may start a good flow. A more hopeful explanation of the new voters' interest in governmental reform lies in women's aptitude for the slow processes of education.

WOMEN AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR

Among the current political measures women have selected for active support, I have named the adhesion of the United States to the World Court, the Pact of Paris and negotiation of inter-American arbitration treaties. These, and every other project for finding ways to prevent war, have found in women active supporters. The end of the World War and women's enfranchisement came at about the same time. It was the time when the search began for finding through international coöperation methods of preventing further wars. Among the several reasons for a hope that this attempt to set up political machinery for preventing war will assume greater proportions than previous post-war attempts, is that in several countries women are now for the first time a part of the electorate.

It is universally conceded that women are the great foes of war. Here, for once, the difference between men and women seems actually based on sex. Women are conservers of life; they know its cost and they hate wasting it. Women, also, unlike men, are not competitive; do not like contests, have no gusto for a fight.

In reckoning women's place in peace movements, however, it will not do to forget that they have always been found suggestible, even as men are suggestible, to the propaganda of hate and fear through which governments are obliged to make people ready to go to war. Before the last war, though men and women in our country had come to believe that war was unthink-

able, women were, through propaganda, as speedily brought to the point of "giving" their sons and husbands as men to the point of going to war. So, in our country today there is a not inconsiderable number of women, even of organized women, who stoutly oppose projects for finding ways to prevent war.

On the whole, however, the influence of the new woman voter is in the other direction. There are women's organizations formed for no other purpose than aiding peace movements. Great general organizations of women, though they are in other directions narrowing their political programs, continue in their activities for peace projects. Women in the parties who will discipline other enthusiasms to comport with party advantage, do frequently assert an independent attitude on measures promising peace. The League of Women Voters throws its united strength into whatever happens to be the practicable project of the hour for international coöperation to prevent war.

It is told of Woodrow Wilson that he gave as reason for early opposition to woman suffrage that women were too logical. When they saw what ought to be, they did not take sufficient count of intervening obstacles. Perhaps the logic for which Mr. Wilson gave women credit is partly ignorance. Yet there may be times when too great familiarity with difficulties is a handicap. There may be times when freedom from bad political habits and entanglements is an advantage. In any case, the field of political international coöperation is so new that there, more surely than anywhere else, women voters are on a par with men voters. It is there perhaps where women have the best chance to make whatever distinctive contribution it is in them to make to public life.

WOMEN AND PROHIBITION

Before adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, it was taken for granted that women were the best friends the prohibition movement had. In this belief men who were leaders in it sometimes made common cause with women working for suffrage. It was certainly in this belief that enemies to prohibition consistently opposed the enfranchisement of women. I remember, shortly after the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, calling upon a leading supporter of woman suffrage to seek his help in some pending move. To my surprise, he refused. To my astonishment, he frankly explained his refusal: frankly, he had never had any interest in woman suffrage except as a means to secure prohibition. To that end it was now no longer necessary.

No doubt it is true that women in general are deadlier foes to the evils of drink than are men in general. They have suffered more from it. Wives have suffered from drunkenness of husbands. They have seen home and children sacrificed to drink. Not, in our country, being drinkers themselves, there had been no sacrifice for women in the contemplation of prohibition. In its promise, mothers, even more generally than fathers, saw a world in which their children might grow up safe from the temptations of drink. Suffragists, who were among the few women acquainted with politics, had bitter experience of the corruption of the liquor interests. For such a variety of reasons women could always be counted on to be on the "dry" side of politics. The form of the final act, prohibition by constitutional legislation, came before their minds were turned to the science of government. On that they accepted man's judgment.

Followed a decade of constitutional prohibition with its problems of en-

forcement. Questions about its success became insistent. Was it enforced? Could it be enforced? Has it increased corruption in government? Has it fostered hypocrisy?

Followed a presidential election in which one candidate declared himself for modification. Followed a campaign in which women for the first time became conspicuous factors. Followed an election in which everybody agrees women voted in larger numbers than ever before, and in which the "wet" candidate was defeated. Followed the conclusion that the Nineteenth Amendment protects the Eighteenth.

WOMEN AND THE 1928 ELECTION

Indeed not since the eve of enfranchisement has there been so much talk about the women's vote, its quality and effect, as since the recent election. The campaign presented a completer picture of the woman voter in action than we have had before. Many of the conclusions based upon it, however, do not stand analysis.

After all, there is little that is positively known about the 1928 women's vote. It is known that the increase in the total vote over the 1924 election was about 25 per cent. As there were previously more women non-voters than men non-voters, it is reasonable to estimate that more slack was taken up among women than men. This is about all that is known. The rest is guesswork.

It is not known how many women voted; nor how, nor why. An article in the *World's Work* with the title, "When Lovely Woman Votes Thumbs Down," is a sample of the kind of guessing that is common. The writer guesses that 90 per cent of the women eligible to vote did vote and that most of these voted for Hoover. Most comments take for granted that the woman vote was a prohibition vote and accordingly "a moral issue" vote. The writer of the "thumbs down" article takes the position that the woman vote was an instinctive and emotional vote, and, therefore, a sex vote. Such conclusions and many like them are really far too sweeping. It is not so simple, as sometimes during the campaign it appeared, to make up one's mind about the women's vote.

If figures were available, and we really knew where their vote went, it would help. Guessing sometimes leads to strange conclusions. But there are no figures. Usually the ballots were not kept apart. There are, however, about twenty-seven million eligible women voters. If it is assumed that most of the 90 per cent of these twenty-seven million women voted on the winning side, the untenable conclusion is reached that few or no men cast a ballot for Mr. Hoover, since his vote was only twenty-one million. If it is assumed that to women the *status quo* of prohibition was the compelling moral issue, it must be remembered that arguments against it were on the grounds of hypocrisy and corruption and that corruption and hypocrisy are also moral issues. If it is assumed that such a fact is one that women would not be likely to recognize, then there is a word for us from the sapient Mrs. Katherine Fullerton Gerould, who, before the election, published an article in Harpers on "Our Passion for Law Making." The point of quoting Mrs. Gerould is that she applies her comments not to the American woman but to the American people.

> Laws, she says, to the American mind are not so much expedients as counsels of perfection. If we cannot be good, let us at least say that everyone must be good . . . the average American has only a vague conception of politics as a science . . . yet he does desire a general and diffused virtue.

The danger of generalizing about the characteristics of this woman vote seems to be that it is done with an eye too exclusively on one sex. Let the gaze dwell upon men voters in the last election as well, and interesting discoveries about it tend to evaporate.

It is to be questioned whether even emotionalism is the exclusive mark of one sex as, for so long, it has generally been conceded to be. Most action is based on emotion, whether by men or by women. People do not act on ideas until those ideas arouse feeling. The chief difference between men and women about emotion may be that they are moved by different causes and show emotion in different ways. Women show emotion more freely than men.

On the whole, nothing has surprised me more in my observation of political life, than the extent to which men are emotional, unless it is the difference between what moves men and women. The classic example of man's emotionalism is the way that, at political conventions, he gives vent to feelings about victory. Women, experienced in politics, tell us that they have learned that to move an audience of men they must resort to something sentimental, and that more of it can be safely used with men than with women. We may be incredulous if we choose. Women who go to men's groups for contributions or appropriations have learned to make their appeal, not in terms of dollars and cents, but of personal experience. It is also observable that men sometimes show emotion about subjects that to women are outside that realm. They use emotional words where women would think that only matter-of-fact words would apply. I have before me an editorial written by a man on a proposed arrangement between federal and state government in regard to the collection and disbursement of income tax. The editor uses such terms as these:

> Such an arrangement is humiliating to the state . . . states should maintain their self-respect; the state should not be in the position of a mendicant.

To the average woman the question involved would be one of expediency or of practical results or of political principle. Highly colored words like "humiliating," "self-respect," "mendicant," seem to her out of place in consideration of such questions. This is an example of emotional susceptibility in man where a woman would be likely to feel none. It would be easy, of course, to match it with examples where women experience emotion upon subjects upon which men feel none.

In politics men and women have much to learn about subjects upon which they can arouse each other's emotions. One thing they have learned: neither sex can be aroused by pure reason; neither can be persuaded by arguments which do not make contact with personal experience. Women sometimes resent what seems to them the superficialities to which men speakers before women's audiences treat them. Women often make a similar mistake of offering to men an argument of pure reason, which at no point makes contact with their feelings. When each knows more about the other's interests and occupations, and therefore about each other's feelings and prejudices, they will know better how to work together. It is one of the consummations most devoutly to be wished from women's admission into the electorate.

Upon the shoulders of women chiefly rests responsibility of thus making men and women voters politically acquainted with one another. The especial contribution each sex can

make needs to be mutually understood and valued. Once these differences are made effective, the more there are, the richer will political life become. For this task of adaptation women ought to be well fitted. By the nature of their jobs theirs has been a training in adaptation.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

It remains to mention one more contribution to political life which it ought to be within the peculiar genius of women to make. Women are natural teachers. The kind of lives they have lived made them that. They are not impatient of arriving at results by the long method of education, line upon line, precept upon precept. It may even be a biological difference. The mothers must have faith in slow processes.

Women have already demonstrated how naturally they take to developing a democracy through education. In their zeal for political education, in the myriads of schools and classes and study groups, in patience for long sieges of political reform, they have demonstrated it. It was a woman group that first actively attacked the falling vote rate about which there has been so much anxiety. Getting out the vote by every conceivable device has marked women's part in elections, great and small, for eight years. Not satisfied with "ballyhoo" methods at election time, they have in many instances settled down to a permanent effort to awaken in the electorate a sense of responsibility for government. Through a thousand and one devices they have addressed themselves to the task of adapting complicated problems of government to popular understanding. They have simplified and dramatized and vizualized. They have used the movie and the radio. They have written primers on political subjects and conducted primary schools upon them.

These are methods of which a government by the people has need. They add to man's genius for government women's genius for education. It has been from the brain of men, of course, that great theories of government have come. Men conceived of that greatest theory of all, a government by the people. Men found a way to embody the theory in a system in the United States of America. It was men that had the understanding that any government by the people must be based upon free education for the people. Men had the vision to found and to endow in our country a great number of institutions of higher learning. But our public schools have not turned out a people capable of voting intelligently upon the complicated questions that under our system come to them. Our higher institutions of learning have not produced political leaders willing and able to devote their lives to working out the problems that in this age a government like ours presents. So, it has come about that people fail to vote because it seems to them that there is nothing to vote about. Or when they vote, their opinions are manipulated by selfish, special interests. Men go in and out of office on faked issues. Problems of adjustment of government to modern conditions go unrecognized or unsolved because so often political leaders have other purposes to serve.

If at this stage there comes into the electorate a new element with a new emphasis and different training, it may well be regarded as an opportunity. It would be easy to waste the opportunity. On the other hand, it is possible, without exaggerating the value of the contribution the new voter is prepared to make, to hope good things from it. Just her bent

for education, her aptitude for the long process of reform, her fresh interest in government for government's sake, her freedom from economic or party entanglements—these characteristics of the new electorate may bring into political life the very stimulus that, at the moment, it needs to turn it forward towards new successes by which to justify democracy.

Women in the Political Parties

By Emily Newell Blair
Former Vice Chairman, The Democratic National Committee, 1921–28;
President, The Woman's National Democratic Club

WOMEN may function in political parties in two ways. They may function as members of the parties, or as members of political committees. Women become members of a political party in the same way and on the same terms that men do. There has never been any discrimination or any special recognition given them in any state. Membership in a party is a very loose term. In a few states voters are required to state, on registration, the party of their choice. This does not, however, prevent their voting for candidates of another party. In some states voters are required to state that they voted for the head of the ticket at the previous election before they are permitted to vote the ticket of that party at the primaries. But generally speaking, anyone who tags herself a Democrat, or a Republican, is considered and accepted as a member of that party. No obligation follows such a tag. It commits the tagged to no specific action or loyalty. Usually party leaders consider the voters who vote their tickets, party members, unless informed otherwise.

The party organization is something entirely different. It is composed of those members of the party who are interested, not alone in voting for nominees of the party, but also in deciding who the nominees shall be, what the party shall stand for, and who shall run it. In highly disciplined organizations like the Democratic organization of New York City, the members of the organization signify their membership by joining what may be termed party clubs, and paying dues to them. But, as a rule, membership in this organization is open to anyone who will take the trouble to go to party primaries or caucuses. In all cases women are eligible to these organizations on the same terms as men. The leadership or management of them is something still different. It is vested in "committees" which are, in many states, provided for and constituted according to law, in others, according to precedent. Before suffrage was extended to women, the law, in some states, used the word "man" or "male," thus limiting eligibility to these committees to men. Precedent always did.

How Women Became Eligible to Party Committees

When it became evident that the passage of the suffrage amendment was imminent, the women who wished to enter political life realized that they must break the precedent of male eligibility to party committees. At the same time, the political organizations were faced with the problem of winning the woman's vote. Mrs. George Bass, chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee, saw an opportunity to use this necessity in order to break the precedent, and devised a plan which she hoped would do both. She persuaded the Democratic National Committee to increase its membership so as to provide for a national committeewoman as well as a national committeeman from each state, this com-

mitteewoman to be named by the national committeeman. At the same time, in her position as national organizer of the women's vote, she urged state committees to follow this example. The Republican National Committee, no less eager to win the approval of the women, adopted the same plan.

On February 26, 1919, the Democratic National Committee passed the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That the Chairman of this Committee be authorized to appoint in each state and territory a woman who shall be an associate member of the Democratic National Committee, said appointments to be upon the nomination of the members of the National Committee in the various states and territories, respectively, the members of said Associate National Committee to exercise in the various states and territories among the women thereof functions similar to those now exercised by members of the Democratic National Committee.
>
> *Be It Further Resolved,* That we recommend that Democratic State Committees, central and executive, especially in the suffrage states, take such practicable action as will provide the women of their respective states with representation, both as officers and as members thereof, in states in which such representation is not now provided by state law or party custom.

THE FIFTY-FIFTY PLAN OF COMMITTEE REPRESENTATION

At its National Convention in 1920 the Democratic Party adopted a resolution formulated by Mrs. Bass to the effect that, thereafter, the National Committee be composed of a man and a woman from each state, and that the national committeewoman be elected in the same manner as the man. This meant that, thereafter, the national committeewoman would have the same authority as the national committeeman, would be in every way equal to the men members of the committee. What had been given the appointees by courtesy now became theirs by authority. In 1924 the Republican National Convention adopted the same plan.

Various state committees followed their example. This was called the fifty-fifty plan. In some states, especially those where the committee was a matter constituted by law, this fifty-fifty plan was written into law and it was obligatory to have a man and a woman member from each unit of representation. Some states went further and provided that when the chairman of said committee was a man, the vice chairman should be a woman, and vice versa. In some states, it was provided that at least two of the officers be women. Between the years 1920 and 1928 there was agitation in many states for this kind of a law.

There was, naturally, objection to this plan. Some women felt that it limited their activities. They preferred, so their argument ran, to go into the primaries or caucuses and defeat some man and so serve on the committees, not as women, but as citizens. To this, those favoring the law replied that it would be many years before women would be powerful enough in politics to defeat men for places in the political organization, and that it was essential both to party success and to the participation of women in party politics that a special place be made for women. Men would not give up the places they already held, but they might admit women to a place beside them. Therefore, it was wiser to get "in" by the only way they could get in. Once in, the men would grow accustomed to having women about, and women would have an opportunity to learn the ropes. As a matter of logic, of course, it was ridiculous. If the women were citizens and there was to be no sex line

in politics, they should run and be elected to political committees as individuals and not as men or as women. But as a practicality the men held the citadel. The only way women could get in was by making a place for women. It was a case of logic against practicality. And practicality won. It won the men as it did the women. The bait to which the men rose was women's votes. In those days it was still thought that women, like negroes, would vote gratitude. It did not occur to anyone, apparently, that political recognition might seem less important to women than freedom did to slaves, and issues more important to women than gratitude to black men.

Although this system is what might be called the "model" established by the national organizations, it has not been adopted by all the state organizations. In a few of the southern states there is no provision made for women as women on the state committees. And, incidentally, there are no women on these state committees. The "model" has not proved popular with the western states that had woman suffrage before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and in other states women are still either ignored, or taken care of on subsidiary or auxiliary committees. It is interesting to note that in no states where the "model" has not been adopted, as far as I can discover, has a woman displaced a man member of a committee—far less risen to any position of importance in any party organization.

COMMITTEE REPRESENTATION ON THE FIFTY–FIFTY PLAN AFFORDS WOMEN AN ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS

But is it otherwise where the "model" has been tried? How has it worked out? Has it offered the women opportunity? Has it accustomed men to working with women so that the embargo against them is lifted? These are some of the questions which must be answered if we are to discover what part, if any, women have in political parties.

Statistics, of course, are not available. But, if we can point to a few outstanding cases where women elected as women have attained political power or leadership, perhaps we may at least say that it has provided opportunity for some women. A woman elected as a woman member of the Democratic State Central Committee of Iowa, and later by the committee as the woman vice chairman, as provided in the Iowa law, became the chairman of the committee. A woman elected as secretary of the Democratic State Committee of Missouri, under the law that provides that if the treasurer is a man the secretary must be a woman, has been called (not in criticism) by the senior senator from Missouri, the Democratic boss. It is unquestionable that she is very powerful in the politics of that state. But she might have been secretary without this law and have become as powerful. In three states, women secretaries of political committees have wielded large power. A woman elected as the woman vice chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York served as chairman during the interim between the resignation of one chairman and the election of another. The present woman vice chairman of the Republican National Committee might have been as powerful if not elected as a woman, but it is doubtful if the opportunity would otherwise have come to her to exert as great an influence on the present administration as she undoubtedly will. These cases, of course, prove nothing. It is even possible that these particular women might have attained power without the opportunity offered them by the fifty-

fifty law. But the fact remains that they used this opportunity.

EFFECT OF THE FIFTY-FIFTY "MODEL" ON MASCULINE ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN IN POLITICS

Whether or not the fifty-fifty "model" has accustomed men to working with women, so that their prejudice is becoming less, is also a matter of surmise. The only test would seem to be the willingness of men who refused them places before to accept women on committees and in conferences today. But that is not a true test as they might have changed for other reasons. My own personal experience, however, leads me to the conclusion that they do become accustomed to working with women. When I first appeared in a political office I was endured; now the same men, who could just with gentlemanly patience suffer me, seek me out to ask my opinion, and even advice. My vanity might charge this off as a personal tribute to my intellect did not these same men seek and welcome the advice of other women, and had they not in time past scorned all women as they did me. They acknowledge that they have come to see that some women have political minds and something of value to offer.

I have been six years on a national committee. There is no doubt that the men on that committee accept the women much more as a matter of course today than they did when I first went on. They treat them today much like the boys at a coeducational college do the girl students in classes, whereas they once treated them like intruders at a man's club. I have been vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee through two national conventions. It would be boring to detail the incidents on which I base the statement, but there is no possible doubt that the women on the arrangements and subcommittees for the second convention were taken more as a matter of course than they were at the first. So perhaps the belief has been justified, that men's enforced association with women on political committees has allayed their prejudice against working with women.

At the same time it must be acknowledged that the change has not been as great as was promised. There is still an aloofness on the part of the men. The assumption of superior authority and a tendency to ignore and even, at times, resent the women has by no means entirely disappeared.

HOW HAVE WOMEN REACTED TO COMMITTEE SERVICE?

As to the fifty-fifty plan offering women a chance to learn "the ropes" there is this data. During the six years in which I have watched women on the committee of which I have been a member, and on other committees, I have seen many women develop to a point where they could defeat men at their own tactics. I have seen at least one national committeewoman progress to the point where she could probably defeat the committeeman for a place on the committee, if they returned to the place where each state had only one representative, and other women who have learned to hold their own. But the result has not been that intended by the proponents of the measure. For in many cases, as soon as women used their knowledge to their own advantage against some men on the committees, they found themselves replaced by women who did not have such knowledge.

For the fifty-fifty law merely makes places for women on these committees. The individual women can retain their places only if they can win a following to put them there. And here is the difficulty. The fifty-fifty "model"

provides that men and women shall be elected after the same manner. This means that men as well as women do the electing. As men are already powerful and have their following, it is easier for them to elect women they want than for women to organize a following of their own. Women do, of course, organize followings. They make their alliances with men. But still in the case of a well-oiled machine it is comparatively easy for a man to eliminate a woman who has learned how to fight for herself.

There are women who talk of women organizing a following of women and who choose to consider these women on the committees as representative of women. It would be as logical to talk of women shop-owners catering only to women or women lawyers serving only women clients. There are women who have been able to organize a group of women who would back them against the men. But there are more women who have been elected by men's votes. And unless the fifty-fifty plan were carried so far as to provide that women could vote only for women, and men only for men, it could not be otherwise.

No woman who wishes to count in politics would be willing to carry the fifty-fifty principle so far. It can, in fact, be justified only as making it easier for women to get into politics. It cannot be considered as providing representation of women by a woman. The effort to use it so has made for confusion in the minds of women, and has led to women's failure to exert as much influence as they otherwise might on the choice of men. They have too often been content on these committees to choose the woman leader and leave her to deal with the men. Their theory was that she would then fight the men to see that women got what they wanted. I have myself been besought by my committeewomen to make some plan to that end. But to make such a plan is impossible. In the first place, the women themselves are not a unit. Some are always in the pockets of some men. Many of them owe their places to support in the state of the committeeman, his courtesy and coöperation, at least. I would have had little chance of getting a majority to back me.

A woman leader is left surrounded by men. Her best chance of success is to gain their confidence and work with them. It is easy to see why women, who are elected as women to represent women, find themselves, if they wish to continue in office, looking for and accepting the support of men. Not that this necessarily means any abdication of one's principles or a knuckling under. There are some men on the committees who stand for the same things this woman does. This woman can form an alliance with them. She can sometimes play politics and can gain support with no promises made. But is is easier, sometimes, to get it simply by becoming clay in the hands of some political potter. All of this is also true of men in politics. This is no more than saying that when a woman gets into a political party organization, even as a woman, by the fifty-fifty plan she becomes a politician and must take her chances as a man and not as a woman politician. But her difficulty is that though she is no longer a "*woman* politician" but a politician, she cannot forget she is a woman. She does have a sex-consciousness and the men with whom she comes in contact stimulate it because of their own sex-consciousness. Most men politicians believe that politics is a man's game, and when a woman approaches for an alliance, or a conference, close their ranks to her.

The acceptance of women by the

men has been much slower than was promised by the advocates of the fifty-fifty plan. This may be due to the strength of the masculine prejudice against women in politics which may have been even stronger than indicated or it may have been due to the particular women who embraced the opportunity offered by the fifty-fifty "model." There can be no question that it has offered political opportunities to fewer women than its proponents expected it to. Perhaps fewer women sought these opportunities. And the women that these proponents hoped and expected to seek them did not. Perhaps those who did were not the kind of individuals to allay the suspicions and quiet the fears of the men.

It is my opinion that the type of women who are on these committees is not improving. Rather the contrary. I am, of course, taking a bird's-eye view. There are many exceptions. I would not have it thought that I refer to the present vice chairmen of the committees. But, if one remembers the conventions and committees of 1920, the roster of women reads like a woman's *Who's Who*. When the committeemen named the women on the national committees in 1919, they paid women the compliment of choosing women of the highest type, women who had more than a local reputation or mere amenability, women who had made a reputation by their public service. As time passed, these men found that women generally took little interest in these political committees. And also that another type might be easier to manage. And even though women on committees were elected, not appointed, the men found it possible to return the kind most suitable for their purposes.

The women on the committees today represent the choice of women far less than their predecessors did. It means that the elements in the organization who are given to manipulation can now place two votes where they had one before. There is the point of view which we sometimes hear expressed, that the fifty-fifty model placed upon women a responsibility to see that the places given to women were filled by women representing them, that if they do not do the choosing, some man does, and he votes twice. But this point of view, as I have pointed out, is not tenable so long as women vote for men and men for women. There are, in the arrangements, possibilities for leaders who want to organize the women back of them, but, as a matter of fact, the women have not used these possibilities. Whether that is the fault of the women leaders who have not the energy, or the means at their command to do it, or because women are not easily organized to back other women, I have no means of knowing. It may be that women who are ambitious politically find it easier to get a backing from men. My own experience would indicate that the latter is the case.

The fifty-fifty law may really have had an effect contrary to that expected by its proponents. Instead of accustoming men to the women, it may have served to stimulate their objections to having women forced upon them, and it may have had the effect on women of encouraging their solidarity, and keeping them apart from the men. On the other hand, it is doubtful if without the fifty-fifty plan there would have been any women at all on the committees.

Women in politics, certainly, there would have been, for men leaders (chairmen, that is) faced with the job of winning the woman vote for their parties, would have asked women to assist them, delegating to them certain tasks. But such women would have served in the capacity of agents and a

survey of the system used in those western states where women had suffrage prior to 1920 would indicate that few, indeed, would have passed from agencies to leaderships. It was the knowledge of how few women in those states had arrived to leadership or political power that made the newly enfranchised women suggest the fifty-fifty law as an opening wedge.

THE PART WOMEN PLAY IN PARTY ORGANIZATION

It has been necessary to explain the way in which women work into the political party organization in order to arrive at an understanding of the part women play in party organization. And any discussion of the manner in which women enter political organizations brings in a discussion of the success or failure of the method from the point of view of those who favored it. This leads almost inevitably to a discussion of representation of women and of the type of women. But for the purposes of this article in a discussion of *Women in the Modern World*, it makes no difference what kind of women are engaged in politics, whether or no they are better than the men in politics, but only how many of them are in political party organizations, how that number is increasing, and what power those women have as compared with the power held by them a few years ago, or with the power held by men.

As to numbers, in eighteen states there is some form of fifty-fifty organization in both major political parties. In other states there are, in nearly every county, some women active in the organization of each party. The number of women active in each party is above the number of those in the same position prior to 1920, in the then suffrage states. In the national organizations, there are as many women as men on the committees.

Another measure of the number of women in political party organizations as compared with the number of men is to be found in the party conventions. In 1916, there were fifteen women delegates in the Democratic National Convention, and no women in the Republican National Convention. In 1920, there were ninety-six women delegates and 1,000 men in the Democratic National Convention, and twenty-six women and 958 men in the Republican National Convention. In 1928, there were 156 women delegates and 944 men in the Democratic convention, and seventy women delegates and 1,019 men in the Republican convention.

In all of these conventions there were women alternates. While these alternates have no real effect on results, still the number of women chosen is some indication of the desire of the political party organization to recognize or compliment women, so, in a sense, the appointment of women as alternates is a recognition of their growing importance. In 1916, there were seven women alternates at the Democratic National Convention, none at the Republican National Convention. In 1928, there were 281 women alternates at the Democratic National Convention and 252 at the Republican.

Those familiar with political procedure know that membership on convention committees is a recognition of importance and power. In 1916, there were several women members of Democratic convention committees; no women were on the Republican convention committees. In 1920, there were thirty women members of committees at the Democratic National Convention and six at the Republican. In 1924, a woman was chairman of the Committee on Credentials at the Democratic convention, but it was not considered an extremely important committee.

But in 1928, at the Republican convention, the Committee on Credentials was one of great importance, and a woman not only presided over the deliberations of that committee as chairman, but also, as chairman, presented the argument for the majority report to the floor of the convention. In the same year there were thirty-nine women on committees at the Democratic convention, and twenty women on committees at the Republican convention.

The speech-making at these conventions is in the nature of a gesture. It has no particular significance. But a willingness to permit women to make the gesture does at least concede recognition to them. At the Democratic convention of 1928, seven speeches making and seconding nominations were made by women; and at the Republican convention of the same year, four speeches of this kind were made by women.

The Extent of Actual Participation in Party Affairs by Women

As to actual participation in the politics of the convention, it is more difficult to give a report. At the Democratic convention in 1928, the nomination of the candidate was practically conceded at the outset. Delegations were chosen for their loyalty to the candidate of the delegations' choice. Accordingly there was comparatively little opportunity for conference and the influencing of results. At the Republican convention there was a vigorous pre-convention fight in which several women took prominent and effective part. At least two women politicians stood out, as of importance and strength, equal to that of any man there. Nor was the number of men having strength or importance so large as to make two women seem a small number.

In the campaign following these conventions, there were as many women as men active as organizers and as speakers. In some states, there were more women than men active in the campaign. The final control, however, in both parties, was vested in men leaders. But there can be no doubt that in both parties several women had much influence in determining tactics. The entire publicity of the Democratic campaign was in charge of a woman and every committee had a woman vice chairman working in coöperation with the men. On the Democratic Executive Committee, of seven members, there was a woman, as there was in each of the campaigns of 1924 and 1920. On the Republican Executive Committee, of twenty-four members, there were eleven women.

When it comes to the amount of power given women in political party organizations, one must grant that comparatively little is given them. But then, little responsibility is given anyone in political parties. Members of the party take responsibility and women have been backward about taking it. Their habit is to sit back and then complain because it is not offered them. But once more there is opportunity to take it, if they will. I have seen women who would not be allowed to run a book store grab for the responsibility of organizing the women for a whole campaign. And I have seen others who could have managed a hospital at the front, or won suffrage for a state, sit back in the corner biting their nails in anger at being ignored. In the last campaign, on Mrs. Hert and her fellow workers was placed the responsibility of capitalizing the women's predilection for prohibition and their antagonism to Tammany Hall into votes for Hoover. In the Democratic headquarters, Mrs. Moskowitz had as great a responsi-

bility as any man, that of handling the publicity for the campaign.

Responsibility is so much a matter of personality and ability that all anyone can expect is an introduction to it. No women have been handed responsibility. But their opportunity to take it is unbounded. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the control of party organization now lies in the hands of men and that they are less inclined to yield to or follow women than men. Still, Mrs. Willebrandt had all the responsibility she could shoulder at the Republican National Convention at Kansas City, the responsibility of the Credentials Committee, and of much publicity. Mrs. McCormick had all the responsibility she could manage when she attempted to organize against Mr. Hoover's nomination. At Houston in the Democratic convention, Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson and Mrs. L. O. Keen assumed the responsibility for getting their own delegations seated. And if I had wanted to influence Governor Smith to take some position in the last campaign, I would have gone to Mrs. Moskowitz before any man at headquarters; similarly, if I had wanted to reach Mr. Hoover I would have taken a chance on Mrs. Willebrandt or Mrs. Hert.

To say that the women in the political party organizations affect results as much as the men in the political party organizations is not true. There are more men than women. Men have had more experience, and in every practical undertaking, experience is given a right of way over theory. This is particularly true of politics. Until some woman rises to the place where she makes the final decisions, or until there are as many women in politics as men, men will continue to affect results more than women.

DO WOMEN AFFECT PARTY POLICIES?

But this is not to say that women do not affect results now. The last campaign is an answer to that. For, without doubt, the women working in the small committees, those of the townships and the counties, had a great effect on the result. But it is one thing to affect election returns, and still another to affect party policies. Women might work forever as underlings and win elections and yet not really count in the political sense of the word. That is they could function as auxiliaries do. I am discussing here women's affecting of political results, decisions in the party as to ways and means, candidates, platforms, and appointments. In these things they are counting for more all the time. The women in the party organizations do have something to say about delegates, and delegates choose nominees and write platforms. They could have much more to say than they do. And the chief reason they do not have much more to say is not because they are women or have not the opportunity, but because they are not willing to do the necessary hard work and take the blows. Inside the party organization women could be ten times as effective as they are, in spite of all their handicaps, if they really wanted to. If they do not, it is because they choose the easy way. If they have come to let men trade their places on committees (and they have), it is because they wait until the last minute to arrange things their way, not because they have had no chance to affect results.

DO WOMEN SHARE IN PARTY REWARDS?

When we come to the effect of women on appointments, we come to another division of the subject, namely, their share of the rewards. Do they participate in them to any equal degree with

men? Certainly not in the same amount nor to the same extent as men. Whether to the same degree could only be determined by a study of the amount of work they contributed as compared with the amount of work done by the men.

In 1918, President Wilson gave the first federal appointment to a woman, when Julia Lathrop was made Chief of the Children's Bureau. Later other appointments were given to women. The highest appointment yet given to a woman was that of Civil Service Commissioner, which was tendered Mrs. Helen Gardiner in 1918, before suffrage was granted women. The offices of Chief of the Women's Bureau, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, and Assistant Attorney General were some of those filled by President Wilson with women. When President Harding came into office suffrage had been granted, but he did not increase the number of offices given to women. The Internal Revenue Collectorship of Chicago was given to a woman, but the commissionership of the District was taken away. There has never been a women member of the Cabinet. It would seem quite fair politically and surely in line with the fifty-fifty policy that at least one of these offices should be held by a woman. Not that such a position should be assigned purely on political grounds. Fitness is the paramount consideration. But surely a woman is available who is equal in ability to the men filling the other cabinet positions. In current discussions it seems to be forgotten that the men asked to form the Cabinet are not always—and, indeed, are seldom—men who have distinguished themselves in political work. Bankers, lawyers, who never saw Washington before, even doctors, business men, and editors have all been chosen. There are also women editors, business women, women doctors and lawyers, as well as women in public welfare work and politics, whose success at their professions would indicate their ability to fill a Cabinet position.

In view of the recent election it would seem that Mr. Hoover must name more women to political places than have hitherto been named. But it must be remembered that a woman's rewards from party activities may come not in the form of the appointment of a woman but in that of a man. She may have asked for and received an appointment for a friend, a relative, a member of her own family. Or it may be that she prefers the less important position—clerkship, deputyship, and so forth. Of the women receiving rewards in state and county governments there is no record.

Many a man in politics takes his reward in the consciousness of his own power and importance; such rewards have come to women. The woman in the small town who finds herself a delegate to a national convention, who sees her name in the paper, is experiencing the same kind of reward, different only in degree. Those women whom small county leaders and state leaders take aside and ask if such and such an arrangement will suit them have this reward. Those whom other women approach for their help and influence in securing an appointment know it. And those few whose suggestion has weight in high places, know it to as great a degree as any man, except the one who occupies for the time being that high place. Other men take their reward in a party nomination to some public office. Not all nominations, of course, come as a reward for party service. Under the primary system it is possible for a stranger to move into a district, buy himself a typewriter, send out letters, tour the district, and take a nomination from a

man who has served his party from office boy to state chairman. This, however, is not the usual thing. In seeking a nomination it is a help to be able to point with pride to a party record. Where a party organization is active and disciplined it would be impossible to get a nomination except as a reward. Such rewards have been received by few women as compared with those given to men. The fact that women have not received many such rewards has been used to prove that women in political parties have not been treated fairly by political parties, and sometimes even to indicate that women would better stay out of political parties. In considering this fact, it must be remembered that the number of women seeking such rewards is undoubtedly considerably less than the number of men. And this, not only taking all offices the country over, but taking any one office. It is probable that there will be several men who aspire to the nomination to one woman who does. With the greatest fairness and justice this would account for the discrepancy between the number of men and women candidates. If one looks upon a nomination as a reward given by a political party organization—and to the extent to which a political party organization throws its influence towards a candidate's nomination, it is as a reward—the amount of service that the seeker of the reward has been able to render must be a determining factor in his right to the nomination.

It is, of course, entirely possible that the woman has the better claim than any man. The necessity of winning women's votes, and of attracting and enrolling women in the parties, offered women an opportunity to do a service for their party that was equal, surely, to many years of apprenticeship. I think there is no doubt that such service has not been adequately recognized by political party leaders. Their dislike of the women who did it, their greater dislike of having to attract these women, have obscured their appreciation of the value of their services. I have had plenty of evidence of this. Particularly is this true of the lesser leaders, county and state. Not even defeats have taught men differently. Either their prejudice is greater than their desire for victory, or their intelligence is not equal to their problem. A woman who over a period of years has made brilliant speeches that made many votes for her party renders signal service, too. But then, of course, there are men doing the same, and it is probable that a young man orator who entered his first campaign in the same election in which a woman was rendering equally valuable service, would have a prior claim to party rewards. But there are services so spectacular that they cannot be overlooked. The woman who, during the last campaign, organized the women in a certain county to vote for Mr. Hoover, and changed the vote by several thousand, performed a kind of service that will outweigh that of men who have served many campaigns. It is probable that she could get any nomination she wanted in so far as the organization could give it to her.

All too often, however, the services of the men do outweigh those of the women who seek a nomination. A woman rises out of her home and essays to defeat a man who has spent years in apprenticeship in politics, and in party organization service.

It was natural that with the granting of suffrage, women should have sought to get into politics "at the top," that they should have run for senatorships. And I, for one, feel that the women who have done so have performed a public service in that, even with their

defeats, they have served to break down the prejudice against women candidates. Even a poor woman nominee serves to accustom voters to the idea of women candidates. She thus performs one good function and so is to be preferred above many men candidates who are as unfitted as she and do no service whatever. But it seems to me hardly fair to assume that the political parties that defeated such women for nomination were, therefore, *ipso facto*, unfair to women or opposed to women candidates. Elsewhere I have said:

> In many of the state legislatures there are women on their way. They are becoming identified with policies, building up a reputation for achievement and ability, acquiring a following. Some of them will run for Congress before long and win. Then they may have some chance for the Senate.

No man jumping out unknown from the quiet of a student's life would be regarded favorably as a nominee. Those men who do come into politics at the top are those who have been known for their success in business or a profession. There are such women—an editor of a great magazine, a Hetty Green in business, a publicist like Carrie Chapman Catt. But the women who have sought nominations in the past have been, in many cases, known only as suffrage, or war, or club workers, and then only to a small circle, and not at all to politicians.

I am referring here to women who sought nominations from a political party, and not those who secured nominations from political parties and were defeated at the polls. For their failure to secure rewards cannot be charged to the political parties, but to conditions outside their control. This must bring us to another reason why political party organizations hesitate to back women nominees. They want to nominate a candidate, naturally, who can win. They have reason to think that it will be harder, other things being equal, to elect a woman candidate than a man candidate. They prefer, then, a man candidate, even though the woman may be entitled to the nomination in point of service. One hardly expects a political organization to offer itself for a sacrifice hit. To secure the reward of a nomination, therefore, from a political party organization, a woman must not only deserve it, but she must be able to convince her fellow partisans that she has some chance of winning.

This is where the widow of a congressman or a governor has the advantage over the other women aspirants to office. To offset the public prejudice against a woman in office there is the sentiment in favor of a wife inheriting her husband's property, and the pity felt for her bereavement. All this, quite beside the fact that she has probably herself given much party service in helping towards her husband's election, and also has an acquaintance and reputation that usually goes with apprenticeship. These women who come into politics by way of their husbands have been made the subject of scorn by those feminists who want women to stand on their own feet. And yet, from the political viewpoint, they more nearly enter politics and secure nominations by the methods and the system through which men win nominations than those feminists who seek to break in from the outside.

After all is said and done about the unfairness of political parties in rewarding their women members, it is only through political parties that women, to date, have got into office. With one exception all the women who have been elected to important offices have been nominated and presented to the electorate by the political parties. The one exception was Judge Florence

Allen who ran as an Independent and was supported by committees of women. Judge Allen has been elected twice to the Supreme Court of Ohio. But Judge Allen was running on the platform favoring a non-partisan judiciary which the law of the state made possible. When she wished to enter the United States Senate she sought nomination for it from the Democratic Party of Ohio.

Independents have sent no woman into Congress or into a gubernatorial office or to county offices. There are a few cases in which women have been elected as Independents to state legislatures, but only where the state law required that candidates run as Independents, as in Minnesota. Thus political parties must be allowed credit for such women as have been elected to office. Since 1920, the Democratic Party has nominated and elected two women governors and one woman secretary of state. After March 4 it will have placed four women in Congress, three in the House, and one in the Senate. How many state legislators and county officers it has elected I do not know, but a number. The Republican Party has elected six congresswomen and one congresswoman-at-large, together with a large number of legislators and county officials. The Democratic Party has nominated two women for United States Senator and at least five for Congress, the Republican Party has nominated several women for Congress who have been defeated.

If the political parties are to have the credit for such women as have been elected, they must take the responsibility for the fact that there are not more. Not that they would not enter a rebuttal. "After all," they would say, "we couldn't keep women out of office if they could get the votes."

Summing up, then, our conclusions are that political parties have offered women an opportunity to enter their organizations. Many women have entered but comparatively few have been able to secure place and power. But, at the same time, the only way in which any women have succeeded in entering politics is through these political parties.

Women in International Affairs

By Florence Brewer Boeckel
Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War

An estimate of the part women are playing in international affairs must be based, to a degree which makes complete satisfaction with the result impossible, upon general impressions and apparent tendencies. Not only is it difficult to determine the amount of influence women are bringing to bear in the international field, but the field itself is undergoing such changes from day to day as to make the effectiveness of this influence or of that elude exact calculation.

The immediate reply of the majority of American women who were asked their impressions on the subject of this article was, "Women are not in international affairs!" Then, with the expression of those who are taking all things into consideration, that remark was invariably modified by observations along these lines: International affairs are ultimately controlled by public opinion. Any far-reaching and enduring change in world relations must be based on informed public opinion. Women through their organizations are the greatest present factor in educating public opinion for a new world order and, therefore, they are playing a part of primary importance in international affairs, and doing it in spite of the handicap of having neither title nor office.

Women of European training reacted differently to the same inquiry. To them the phrase "women in international affairs" called up immediately certain outstanding individual women, "women experts," recognized as authorities in their fields. One of these, who has taken part in all the recent international conferences of women, said,

> The representatives of women's organizations, who come to our conferences from European nations, come with all the prestige and implied power of active members of political parties and of the legislative bodies in their own country. They speak—and they listen—as members of international commissions in the deliberations of which they are in the habit of taking a recognized part.

One is tempted to begin with the generalization that in Europe the individual woman has entered international affairs, and is contributing according to her individual talents, while in the United States the unindividualized mass of women voters is making itself felt by means of a pressure from the outside—political and irresistible pressure it is true, but pressure reminiscent of the "influence" of earlier days.

As it happened, it was at the very moment in history when "the world was born," when it was recognized as a single whole, that women were born politically. Before the war, they voted in four countries only, while today they have equal political rights in twenty-seven, if the divisions of the British Empire are separately listed—in considering the influence of women in international affairs it is, of course, correct to so list the dominion governments and the government of India, for the opinion of these governments is taken into account in determining international policies. The twenty-seven countries are these: Australia, Austria, British East Africa, Canada,

Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This simultaneous development in the woman's movement and in the movement toward the organization of the world, that is to say toward peace, was natural, for fundamentally they are two phases of the same general movement—the struggle for democracy being another phase—which throughout history has sought to establish the value of the individual, and to substitute reason for force in human affairs. The interest which at the close of the war enfranchised women at once displayed in world affairs and in all efforts to establish world peace reflected among other things an instinctive recognition of this identity of purpose. One would like to believe that with a change in their position in regard to war, from one of necessary acquiescence, to one of a voter's power and responsibility, women at once turned away from the rôle of the Spartan mother with its vicariously won heroism to assume the more heroic one of attacking war itself in the defense of their children.

Be that as it may, the convergence of the two movements undoubtedly has quickened the development of both. International affairs, it can be said with certainty, would not be playing the part they are today in national politics, would not hold the position they do today in public interest, if women had continued without political power. It is, on the other hand, the fact that at the time women achieved the suffrage international affairs offered a new field for public participation, a field in which the channels of influence were not charted, which has given them an opportunity at the beginning of their enfranchisement to make their influence felt in a direction in which that influence could be most easily united. To women international problems are primarily problems of maintaining peace, and the demand for the ballot itself never won from them the united effort that they are putting today into their demand for the solution of the problems involved in the maintenance of peace.

THE ORGANIZED INTEREST OF WOMEN IN WORLD RELATIONS

It is true that statements about "women" are always open to question and to challenge. The woman's movement marks a differentiation of women as among themselves, and, at least superficially, has decreased the differences between women and men. But, allowing for both these things, the fact remains that it has not been necessary to pick individual women here and there to work together for peace. One by one, until the exceptions are today looked upon as little better then anachronisms, the great women's organizations, formed some for one thing and some for another, have made international affairs their major interest. No such similarly united and concentrated activity is to be found among men's organizations.

Among those women's organizations in this country alone which have formed special committees on international relations, or which are promoting world understanding through educational campaigns or through the friendly contacts which result from international organization, are these: the American Association of University Women, the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions

of North America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National League of Women Voters, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Girls Friendly Society of America, the International Federation of Soroptimist Clubs, the National Association of Ex-military Reconstruction Aides, the International Council of Nurses, the National Council of Jewish Juniors, the National Council of Women of the United States of America, the Medical Women's National Association, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the Service Star Legion and the Women's Missionary Union of Friends in America. The first ten of the organizations mentioned coöperate in the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. In addition there are in this country the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's Council for the Promotion of Peace, the Women's Council for Education in International Relations, the Women's Peace Union, and the Women's Peace Society, formed wholly in the interest of world peace. The total membership of these associations cannot be definitely reckoned because it overlaps, but it reaches well up into the millions. In addition there are, of course, many women members in the other hundred and some organizations working in the United States for peace.

Largest among the international groups are the International Council of Women which is organized in forty-one countries, while the membership of its organizations totals nearly 40,000,000; the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship organized in forty-three countries; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom with branches in twenty-six countries; the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union with sections in thirty-nine countries; the World Young Woman's Christian Association, of which there are organizations in forty-nine countries; the International Association of University Women composed of national associations in thirty-one countries, and the World Union of Women composed of individual women in all parts of the world.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS[1]

The interest of women in world relations and the will behind their interest are, then, clear. There remain the questions: What opportunities have women today to make their will felt in international affairs? What methods are they employing? Are they making any special contribution of their own? Upon the answer to these questions this article will attempt to throw some light by enumerating the positions occupied by women in international organizations and in national governments, and by indicating by what means they are influencing public opinion through their own national and international organizations.

To begin with the greatest of the international organizations, the League of Nations. What part have women played in its development and what part are they playing in its activities?

When the Covenant of the League was first drafted women were not made

[1] An excellent booklet of forty pages entitled, "*Women at Work in the League of Nations,*" has recently been published in England by D. M. Northcroft. It may be obtained from the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association in New York City. Much of the information in this article concerning the women in the League has been gathered from this report.

eligible for office. After prolonged effort a committee representing the International Council of Women and the Women's Alliance for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship were granted a thirty-minute interview with President Wilson and the commission drafting the Covenant. As a result a clause was inserted in Article 7 which reads:

> All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

By this clause the door to women's full participation is left unlocked, but it has not so far been much more than set ajar!

It is necessary to recall briefly the organization of the League in order to understand the place that women occupy in it.

The Council of the League of Nations, which may be considered the executive body of the League, is composed of fourteen members. It meets five times a year. No women are members of the Council, nor are they likely to be admitted before they have attained high positions in the diplomatic corps and foreign offices of their own governments. The Assembly of the League of Nations, which meets once a year and corresponds to a national parliament, consists of delegations from the fifty-five member states. Each state has one vote only, but may be represented by as many as three delegates, and these delegates may be accompanied by experts or advisers. Ten countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Australia, Germany, Roumania, Hungary, Holland and Finland, have sent women as substitute delegates or as expert advisers, but no woman has as yet been a full delegate.

The number of women in the national delegations increased from three in the First Assembly, in 1920, to ten in 1928. Sweden, Denmark and Norway were the only nations in whose delegations to the First Assembly women were included. In 1921, Roumania was added to this list. In 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925 the number of women stood at six, with substitute delegates from Great Britain and Australia added to the first four. In 1928, Germany's and Sweden's women representatives were technical advisers, the other eight countries being represented by women substitute delegates.

All of these women have been leaders in the women's organizations in their countries. The majority have taken active part in peace work. They are linguists and women who have traveled widely. There are among them lawyers, doctors, economic experts, experienced students of social welfare problems, writers, teachers and active members of their national parliaments, influential in their political parties.

The importance of the post of substitute delegate is increased by the fact that the Assembly is divided into six committees on all of which every country is entitled to representation. Substitute delegates serve on committees and may speak in the Assembly. It is the custom to appoint all women delegates to the Fifth or Humanitarian Committee which deals with social questions including traffic in women and children, child welfare, the opium traffic and problems of intellectual coöperation. Women have also served on all the other committees except one, the Committee on Disarmament, and there is a growing demand that they be appointed to this.

The First Committee which deals with legal questions has had only one woman member, Fru Bugge-Wicksell of Sweden, who has recently died. Fru Wicksell was a fully qualified lawyer. On the Second Committee,

which deals with the technical organizations of the League which have to do with the problems of communication, transit and health, there have been four women, Fröken Henni Forchhammer of Denmark, Eleanor Mackinnon of Australia, Fru Larsen Jahn of Norway and Mlle. Hélene Vacaresco of Roumania, who have served as health experts. On the Fourth, or Finance Committee, Mervw. C. A. Kluyver of Holland has been the only woman member. Mlle. Vacaresco has been also a member of the Sixth Committee, which has to do with political questions including the protection of minorities.

In addition to these committees, the Assembly creates various temporary and permanent commissions to assist in League undertakings. By a special resolution passed by the First Assembly, women are eligible to these commissions as members and they may also sit upon them as experts, or as assessors, in which capacity they may initiate and discuss proposals but may not vote. An assessor seems to be a post created to meet the peculiar qualifications of many women. As distinguished from an expert who is technically trained and is an adviser to the national delegation, an assessor is one who may have had professional training but who has also had special practical experience likely to be of use in the committee discussions and who does not necessarily support the government's program.

With the exception of Mervw. Kluyver of Holland, who served as secretary to the Five Power Conference and to the Committee of Jurists concerned with the drafting of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and who has made valuable studies on the intricate problems of arbitration, security and disarmament, the women delegates at the League have devoted their efforts largely to problems of human welfare and those concerning women and children. In considering their work as a whole, it is obvious that they have made at least two notable contributions which, since they have made them independently of each other in connection with the work of different committees, it may perhaps be fair to consider peculiarly, contributions of women to international organization.

The first speech made by a woman in the Assembly was made by Fröken Forchhammer and dealt with the question of traffic in women and children. Following this speech, the Assembly resolved to call an international commission for the study of this question, which recommended the creation of a permanent advisory committee on this subject. As a member of this committee, Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States, revolutionized League methods in the investigation of social problems. The committee was discussing the subject on the basis of general impressions, when Miss Abbott suggested that the first thing to do was to gather definite facts. This suggestion was accepted, and it was then proposed, in accord with the customary procedure, that each government be asked to report conditions in its own territory. Miss Abbott on this point made the further suggestion that instead of requesting governments to report their own laxities, a special international committee of experts be appointed to go from place to place and make investigations "on the spot." This plan, too, was adopted and established a precedent, since it was the first time in the history of the League that an international committee of experts had been created to visit the nations of the League and make a report on existing conditions in a given field. The committee of experts, which

included two women, Dr. Luisi of Uruguay and Princess Bandini of Italy, and six men, has completed its investigation and published two reports of the greatest importance in the solution of the problem with which they deal. When in 1927 one report was discussed in the Assembly, a reference was made to women which seemed to imply a certain contempt and to lay a greater degree of responsibility upon them than upon men. Dame Edith Littleton of England, who received her title for her work in organizing women's work during the war, promptly rose in the Assembly, and, in a speech that will be long remembered, before this great audience of men and women from all nations, discussed traffic in women in plain terms such as had never before been used in a similar meeting and ended by urging that facts be faced. "There are noxious infections," she said, "which die when exposed to light; let this be one of them."

In the work of the Mandates Commission, Fru Wicksell played a part which has very definitely altered the Commission's point of view and method of approach. It was originally proposed that each member of this Commission should be responsible for keeping in touch with one or more mandated territories. Fru Wicksell urged instead that members be made responsible according to their special experience and knowledge for a given subject throughout all the territories. Her plan was adopted and has obviously led to a more definitely international point of view and to a more impartial and careful consideration of the problems of the people living under the mandates.

Three women have had a part in the health work of the League: Dr. Alice Hamilton of the United States is the only woman member of the Health Committee; Dame Janet Campbell of England is chairman of the Committee of Health Experts on Infant Welfare; and Dr. Janet Lane Claypon of the British Ministry of Health is an investigation officer of a sub-committee of experts. The Commission on the Traffic in Opium included, until this year, as an assessor, Mrs. Hamilton Wright, an American who is recognized as one of the best informed persons in the world on this subject.

Eight women are members of the committee for the prevention of traffic in women and children: Dr. Gertrud Baumer and Dr. Matz of Germany, Dr. Estrid Hein of Denmark, Miss Grace Abbott of the United States, Dr. Paulina Luisi of Uruguay, and the following are assessors: Mme. Avril de Sainte Croix of France, Mme. la Baronne de Montenach of Switzerland, and Mme. Curonod-Secretan of Switzerland.

On the committee dealing with child welfare, in addition to Miss Abbott, Dr. Baumer and Dr. Luisi, there are five women assessors including Miss Julia Lathrop, Dame Katherine Furse and Miss Eleanor Rathbone of England, Miss Charlotte Whitton of Canada and Miss Burniaux of Belgium; a sixth, Miss Eglantyne Jebb, has recently died.

One of the notable appointments so far made under the League was that of Frau Emmy Freundlich of Austria, a leader in the coöperative movement in her country, who served as the only woman member of the Preparatory Commission of thirty-five which conducted the preliminary studies for the League of Nations World Conference on Economic Problems, and who later was the only woman national delegate to the Economic Conference itself, although three other women, nominated by international women's organizations, were appointed by the Council of he League to attend the Conference as ex-

perts. Frau Freundlich earnestly advocates the appointment of women to the Disarmament Committee.

In the Secretariat of the League of Nations, which consists of some five hundred men and women of forty different nationalities, who are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Council and Assembly, women are to be found in almost equal numbers with men, but the positions they hold are those of lesser rank. The Secretary General, the Deputy General and the three Undersecretaries General are men. Among the heads of sections only one is a woman. Dame Rachel Crowdy of England has from the beginning been in charge of the Social Welfare Section and the section concerned with the control of opium and other drugs. Although acting in the capacity of a director, Dame Rachel is not given the title of director, nor has her salary been equal to that of the men in charge as directors of other sections; it has in fact been more than a third less. Recently, when appointments of the heads of sections were renewed, those of the men were renewed for seven years, but Dame Rachel's appointment was extended for only one, and this after persistent agitation on the part of women's groups. Miss Florence Wilson, an American, held the office of Chief Librarian from 1920 to 1926, but was then superseded by a man. Dr. Gertrude Dickson is at present editor of the *Official Journal*. Eight women occupy subordinate posts in the different sections.

Closely affiliated with the League of Nations are the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Institute for the Codification of Private Law, the International Labor Office, the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. In the last three women are represented.

On the International Committee on Intellectual Coöperation, Madame Curie of France recently made vice-chairman, and Dr. Kristine Bonnevie of Norway, have taken a very influential part in its work for the promotion of closer intellectual coöperation among the scholars, artists, scientists, writers and students of the world. In the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation which serves as an executive body carrying out the plans of the committee, there are fourteen women holding important minor posts. Mlle. Gabriela Mistral of Chile has lately been appointed to the Cinematographic Institute.

The Labor Organization was set up, not by the League of Nations Covenant, but by the Treaty of Versailles, and one of the articles establishing it states, "A certain number of the staff of the International Labor Office shall be women." The office is divided into diplomatic, intelligence, research, administration, and publications divisions. The responsible members of the staffs of these divisions are graded A and B. From 1920 to 1924, the Chief of the Research Division was an English woman, Miss Sophy Sanger, who finally resigned, it was generally understood, at least partly in protest against the fact that she was not accorded equal treatment with men carrying on work of the same grade. The Chief of the Agricultural Section under one of the divisions and the Chief of the Documents Service are women. There are fifteen other women ranked as B members of the sections. One of these, Mrs. Weaver, of England, is in charge of information concerning conditions of labor in the mandated territories, while a second, Mlle. Mundt, of France, is in charge of keeping women's organizations throughout the

world informed in regard to legislation concerning women and children.

Once a year an International Labor Conference is held at which each country is represented by two government delegates, one employers' delegate and one workers' delegate, all of whom may be accompanied by advisers. The articles establishing the Labor Office called for the appointment of a woman as adviser whenever "questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the conference." Twenty-six women were included at the first conference in 1919, all as technical advisers except one government delegate from Norway. At the last meeting in 1928 there were twelve women, those from Norway and Sweden attending as government delegates, the others as advisers. Many of the draft conventions adopted by these conferences and recommended to the various governments for enactment into law, directly affect the lives and earning power of millions of women, and indirectly affect the position of all women.

So long as many of the nations represented in the League have not accorded full equality to women, there will be opposition among its members to the appointment of women to any high place. At present, resentment on the part of men unaccustomed to women in public life at the idea of serving under a woman is evident. Nor can women expect to hold high posts in the League before they have obtained such posts in their own governments; posts which will give them a voice in the appointment of representatives to such international bodies as the League, and will qualify them themselves to serve. It is important, therefore, from this point of view as well as from that of their influence in determining national policies affecting international affairs, to consider the offices at present held by women in the different nations.

But before turning to the national field, there is one other international body in which women have recently achieved noteworthy success. The Sixth Pan American Conference, meeting in Havana in 1928, had before it for consideration twelve projects of public international law and a code of private international law designed to harmonize the laws of the countries of this hemisphere. Many of the articles in this code had to do with the status of women. An International Committee of Women led by Miss Doris Stevens, Chairman of the Committee on International Action of the National Woman's Party, and Mrs. Jane Norman Smith, Chairman of the Council of the same organization, accompanied by representative women of Latin American countries, attended the Conference to present their demand, that the countries in the Pan American Union, by treaty, accord the women of this hemisphere equal rights with men. This was the first time in history that women had sought to obtain equality by means of an international treaty. As a result, also for the first time, women were given an opportunity to address the Conference on this subject. Later their request for a special committee of women to deal with laws affecting women, was granted by the adoption of the following resolution:

> That an Inter-American Commission be organized to prepare the juridical information necessary for a proper consideration at the Seventh Conference of the civil and political equality of women; this commission to be composed of seven women designated by the Pan American Union from different countries of America, and eventually to consist of representatives from all the Republics.

Governments have thus opened the way for women to speak for themselves in international affairs.

The Inter-American Commission has

undertaken as its first piece of work the question of nationality as it relates especially to women. This subject was chosen for first consideration in part, because the subject of nationality is on the agenda of the Conference on the Codification of International Law, which is to be called under the auspices of the League of Nations sometime in 1929 or 1930. The Chairman of the Commission of Women, Miss Stevens, went to Geneva for the meeting of the Assembly of the League in 1928, and drew up a resolution, calling for the appointment of women delegates to the Codification Conference, which was submitted to the committee on legal questions by the Cuban delegate, Ambassador Ferrara, and unanimously adopted by the Assembly. The resolution read in full:

> The Assembly, considering that the question of nationality which is on the agenda of the Conference is of special interest to women, and that Article 7 of the Covenant embodies the principle that all positions under, or in connection with the League, shall be open equally to men and women, expresses the hope that the members of the League, when invited to the forthcoming Conference, will consider the desirability of taking these considerations into account in composing their delegations.

No government has as yet appointed its delegates to the Conference, and there has been no indication of what the result of this resolution will be.

The importance to women of having a voice in international commissions is clear. The National Woman's Party, which was instrumental in having the question of women's equality before the law brought before the Havana Conference, is laying particular stress on this fact and has organized in connection with its work an International Advisory Council. The growth in international life, the influence of international bodies in suggesting and initiating national legislation, has, as a matter of fact, set women back one row, as far as direct political control is concerned. Many of them feel that the equality they have attained in certain nations is endangered by this new international influence determined as it is in part by nations in which women are still without recognition in public life. One result of this situation is, however, to strengthen the tendency of women to think internationally, to feel themselves united in purpose across national boundaries.

INFLUENCE OF WOMEN WITHIN THEIR OWN NATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Within their own nations women are able to exercise an influence on international affairs, in virtue either of positions which give them a direct voice in the development and adoption of international policies, such as membership in the executive or legislative branches of the government; through their influence in political parties, the platforms and programs of which help to direct foreign policy; or through the pressure of public opinion upon political parties or upon men in public office.

In only one instance has there been a woman cabinet member. Under the Socialist Government in Denmark Fru Nina Bang was Minister of Education from 1923 to 1926. In England, women have twice been members of the government, though never cabinet members. Under the Labour Government, Miss Margaret Bondfield was parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Labour. Under the present Conservative Government, the Duchess of Atholl is parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Education. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, women form 8 per cent of the central governing body, and women direct the

Departments of Political Education, and of Motherhood and Infancy, and the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, a very influential body so far as the development of foreign relations with other countries is concerned. In Holland, one woman is a member of the High Council of Education. In China, two women, one of whom is Madame Sun-Yat-Sen, are among the nine members of the Central Executive Committee of the National Government. A third woman, Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, is a member of the Legislative Council. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics alone has appointed a woman as ambassador; Madame Alexandria Kollontai has represented her country in Mexico and Norway. It is interesting to note that there is also a woman member of the Soviet military general staff, who holds the rank of general. Reports say that this young woman is an ardent pacifist, and uses every opportunity that comes to her to express her convictions.

In Latin America women do not have the right to vote, but there is already evidence of their active interest in government affairs and of their ability to participate in public life. In Chile a woman physician is Chief of the Education Division of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare. Nicaragua has appointed three women as consuls, one woman is consul general in New Orleans and two others are consuls in Detroit and in Hoboken. There are also two women in the Consular Service of Chile and two in that of Bolivia. In Mexico a woman is director of the National Library.

In the United States, two women are now serving in the consular service; Miss Patty Field is Vice-Consul in Amsterdam, and Miss Frances Willis, Vice-Consul in Valparaiso. Miss Lucille Atcherson was formerly a third secretary in the State Department, and later in Berne and in Panama. She has recently resigned. Two other women have been admitted to the foreign service, but have not yet received appointments: Miss Nellie B. Stoggsdall and Miss Margaret Warner. Three women have received foreign appointments under the Department of Commerce as Trade Commissioners: Miss Gudrun Carlson is stationed at Oslo, Miss Elizabeth Humes at Rome, and Miss A. Viola Smith at Shanghai.

Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Mary Anderson, Chief of the Woman's Bureau, Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General, Miss Jessie Dell, one of the three members of the Civil Service Commission, and Miss Julia Stimson who, as Superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps, has been given the rank of Major in the Army, are breaking the way for women into important government posts. Miss Annabelle Matthews, well-known lawyer, was one of three official American delegates to the International Conference on Double Taxation held under the League of Nations. Another American woman has done a unique piece of work in connection with international affairs, though not under appointment from the United States Government. Miss Sarah Wambaugh, because of her expert knowledge on plebiscites, was invited by the Peruvian Government to make a report in connection with the Tacna Arica dispute. The State Department, consulted in regard to the acceptance of this invitation, offered no objections.

The exact number of women in the various national legislative bodies is difficult to learn. There is no record in political year books. As nearly, however, as it has been possible to ascertain them, the figures are as follows:

In Austria there are three women members of the Federal Council or

upper chamber: two are Conservatives, one is a Socialist; in the National Assembly there are seven women, six Socialists and one Conservative. In Canada in the Dominion Parliament there is only one woman, but in the provinces there are many others, and in some instances women have served as cabinet members in the provincial governments. In Czechoslovakia there are fourteen women members of the legislature. In Denmark six women sit in the upper chamber and three in the lower. In England there are now nine women in Parliament: four Conservatives, four members of the Labour Party, and one Liberal. In the present election campaign in England, more than fifty women have already, early in March, presented themselves as candidates, and more than half of these are on the ticket of the Labour Party which is emphatically committed to a peace program. It is anticipated that as many as one hundred women will run. In Estonia two women are members of Parliament. In Finland there are sixteen women members of Parliament. In Germany twenty-three women serve in the Reichstag. In Holland one woman is a member of the upper house and six hold seats in the lower. In Iceland one woman sits in the legislative body. In Ireland three women are members of the upper house and one is a member of the lower. In Lithuania the recent Parliament included six women. In Norway there is one woman in the upper house, and thirteen women are "proxies," that is, were elected at the same time members were elected to take their place in case of illness or death. In Poland the Parliament includes sixteen women members. In Sweden one woman sits in the upper house and three in the lower. In the new Congress of the United States there are eight women, five Republicans and three Democrats. All told there are, therefore, well over one hundred women in national legislative bodies throughout the world.

In many instances, of course, membership in parliamentary bodies does not mean any real power in the control of a country's foreign policy. In the United States, although eight women have run for the Senate, none has been elected. No woman, therefore, has any vote on international treaties except as such treaties call for appropriations or for legislative measures. Nor do women have any voice in the confirmation of cabinet or diplomatic appointments. But as members of the House women have an opportunity to vote upon the many measures which go to make up a nation's foreign policy, and therefore to help determine its trend in regard to the maintenance of peace. The questions of armaments, tariff, international debts, of military training in our educational institutions, of immigration, upon all these things women members of the House may make their point of view known and may initiate legislation. So far only one bill of general interest has carried a woman's name, the Rogers Hospitalization Bill. As a matter of fact, the women so far elected to Congress have been given little opportunity for active participation in major legislation, for they have been granted few important committee assignments. Late in the last Congress Mrs. Kahn of California was put on the Military Affairs Committee. In this Congress, it is believed, an effort will be made to have a woman appointed to the Foreign Relations Committee.

In addition to the women now in Congress, three others have been members of that body. Two of these, Miss Jeannette Rankin and Mrs. Winifred Mason Huck, were active workers for peace. Miss Rankin was one of the members of the lower house

to vote against the entrance of this country into the World War. Mrs. Huck introduced a resolution authorizing the President

> to inform other nations that the United States would delegate to its people the sole power to declare war on any nation that should delegate the same power to its people.

The long and active interest of Ruth Bryan Owen, newly elected Democratic member, in the substitution of arbitration for war, the next logical step in the steady development of orderly government, is well known, and cannot but make its influence felt in her congressional activities.

It is a little difficult to account for the fact that in the United States the women who have achieved political office have in most instances not been organization women; they have not, that is, been previously active or recognized as leaders in either the woman's movement, or in the national social welfare activities of women. In Europe the reverse has been true. Women in political life are, in the majority of cases, women who had already become national figures through their organization activities, and who continue to work with and speak for organized women.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to know exactly to what extent women in different political parties work together as women in the various parliaments. As to England, certainly under the leadership of the first two members, Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham, the impression has been created that, on important humanitarian and international questions, the women, with few exceptions, unite their efforts. In Germany, also, the women on many non-political questions work together.

In the Inter-Parliamentary Union an opportunity is given to women to unite their influence not only across party lines, but from parliament to parliament, and this they have done. The Union, which was organized in 1904, is composed of members of the national parliaments, and former members who have previously belonged to the Union. Conferences of the Union are held annually.

At the last meeting in 1928, which was held in Berlin, there were seventeen women among the 475 delegates, representing Holland, Poland, Austria, Denmark and Germany. At this meeting Frau Teusch spoke, it is significant to note, "in the name of and commissioned by" her women colleagues, and urged that women be given the power they need to work for the welfare of their own nations and of the united world family.

Under party governments the general trend of foreign policies is outlined by the programs of political parties. The extent of the party influence of women is of importance, therefore, in this connection. While in the United States women are theoretically, and on paper, given equal power with men in the two major parties, the part which they have played so far in developing party policies has been practically negligible. They are granted an equal number of appointments on the Republican and Democratic National Committees, but it is readily admitted that women do not take part in the inner councils of the party, nor are they appointed to important committees at the conventions.[2] Each state has only one member on committees. In the 1928 convention there was no woman on the Democratic Resolutions Committee, and there were only two on the Credentials Committee. Similarly, there were two women on the Republican Credentials

[2] See article in this issue entitled, "Women in the Political Party," by Emily Newell Blair.

Committee and one on the Resolutions Committee.

The number of women holding state offices in the United States gives further indication of the extent of their political power. They occupy 147 seats in thirty-eight state legislatures, including fifteen in upper houses and 132 in lower. Two women are state treasurers; one is secretary of state; one is state auditor; one is state commissioner of public health and four are state superintendents of public instruction. In two states, possibly in more, women have been appointed executive counselors.

But power within a party depends primarily on control of patronage and ability to make substantial financial contributions. Since women do not hold important offices, they have no patronage to offer, and so far few women exercise any real financial power. However, in the last campaign the contributions of women, both as individuals and as a group, were larger than ever before. There is also hope in the fact that statistics show the number of women investors to be growing rapidly, and likewise the number of business firms owned and controlled by women. Executive positions in banks, formerly reserved for men, are now frequently held by women; Chambers of Commerce, not only in the United States, but recently in European countries and even in China, are encouraging women members; the research studies made by women in the economic field show a thoroughgoing grasp of financial problems, and leaders of women's organizations are beginning to urge upon them the necessity of occupying strategic positions in the financial world, if they wish to influence world policies effectively for peace.[3]

Such then are the opportunities of individual women to affect foreign policies and methods of procedure through direct participation. Obviously, they are not great. The international world even more definitely than the world of national public affairs is a man's world, and promises to remain so for the present.

But if the individual woman has as an actor penetrated only the outer lobby of that world, "women" are bearing down upon it, and it is aware of their approach.

Probably the extent of the progress that has been made will seem greater when it is remembered that in 1870, when Julia Ward Howe, roused by the tragedy of the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, made her international appeal to the "mothers of mankind" to "interfere in these matters to prevent the waste of human life" and to unite their forces around the world in a women's peace crusade, women were not allowed to speak in important peace meetings. When she herself attended international peace conferences in England and France, she was denied the floor and told that she might talk with the officers of the society when the public meeting had adjourned. Nor at this time were there any well organized associations of women in any nation, let alone international groups. In 1888 the first large international body of women was formed under the name of the International Council of Women. It grew out of the idea of an ardent peace worker, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and included a special peace department. At almost the same time, under the leadership of Frances Willard, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union added a department on peace and arbi-

[3] Since this article was in type, a study made by an investment banking house has been published, which discloses that women pay taxes on more than three and a quarter billions of individual income annually, and control approximately 41 per cent of the nation's wealth.

tration to its work, while the Young Woman's Christian Association, spreading from country to country, and the Women's missionary groups, reaching out with their help to other nations and races, began to build up an international mind among women. Somewhat later the struggle for equal suffrage led women, because of a common oppression, to think in terms of the women of the world rather than of any one nation, and resulted in 1904 in the formation of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, now known as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.

WOMEN ORGANIZED FOR PEACE SINCE THE WORLD WAR

Before the World War came, therefore, women had long thought and studied about the question of peace, but there were no organizations devoting their work exclusively to promoting peace, nor had the study of world conditions been carried on in any detailed or organized way. Lack of political power made women's relationship to international affairs necessarily a remote one. With the outbreak of the war, the strong feeling of many women against war demanded definite expression, while the certainty that they were rapidly aproaching victory in their suffrage campaign helped to give them courage.

In 1915 Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt called a convention of women out of which grew the Women's Peace Party. Forty-seven delegates from this organization took part the same year in one of the most extraordinary adventures of modern times. At the call of the women of four enemy and neutral nations, England, Germany, Belgium, and Holland, women from twelve countries gathered at the Hague and discussed with "a passionate human sympathy, not inconsistent with patriotism but transcending it," how an end might be brought to the war because of which their children were starving and their countries ruined. Jane Addams presided at this conference. Although these women were acting under the greatest emotional stress and knew that ostracism, and, in many cases, imprisonment awaited them upon their return home, out of their congress came a perfectly definite and clearcut plan, which strikingly resembles the fourteen points later proposed by President Wilson as a basis for peace negotiations, and which foreshadowed many of the decisions reached by the peace conference. The women recommended, among other things, that at the close of the war all further disputes be submitted to arbitration and conciliation; that social, moral and economic pressure be brought to bear upon any nation resorting to arms; that a permanent international court of justice be established; and that a permanent international conference holding regular meetings, "in which women should take part," be set up, and that it form a permanent council of conciliation and investigation for the settlement of international differences. It urged that foreign investments be made "at the risk of the investor without claim to the official protection of his government." Secret international treaties were to be void. In addition to plans for the future, the women's congress proposed a definite immediate step, namely, that the neutral nations form a conference for continuous mediation, and, in order that this suggestion might be laid at once before the rulers of the world, envoys were appointed who set out, two by two, and traveling across war-racked Europe urged upon the men within whose power it lay to do so, to adopt this plan and so perhaps shorten the misery of their people.

But America was becoming more involved and with the entrance of this country into the war neutral action became impractical.

The contrast in the peace activity of American women before the war and since the war, although it may be accounted for in large part by the achievement of political power, goes to show that whatever the degree of women's participation in war activities, their will to peace was steadily increasing.

The first organized evidence in the United States that women proposed to take a hand in the organization of the world, for the prevention of another such world conflict, is to be found in their activities in connection with the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments. Senator Borah introduced a resolution in Congress in 1920 calling for such a conference. The New York World took up the idea and conducted a campaign. But early in 1921 the Borah resolution had apparently been forgotten and the New York World campaign was dwindling out. In February, of that year, a small group of Washington women, called together by Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mrs. George T. Odell, and Mrs. Sallie H. Burch, formed the Women's World Disarmament Committee, and in a hurried campaign arranged a mass meeting for the psychological moment of the Easter season. At this meeting Senator Borah renewed his suggestion for the conference, and the press took the matter up with renewed vigor. Shortly after this, at a meeting of the National League of Women Voters in Cleveland, Mrs. Catt made a wholly unexpected, if not unpremeditated, appeal to the women to turn their energies into work for peace, as the first necessity not only of all their work for the betterment of humanity, but for the preservation of humanity itself. Other organizations, including the church groups, joined in creating public support for the conference, and a public sympathy which played its part in the conference's final success.

The next opportunity for definite action came with the campaign for the World Court. Seventeen organizations were represented on the Women's World Court Committee, which was formed through the Women's Congressional Committee, and which worked constantly at the Capitol for the two years preceding the adoption of the World Court resolution. Members of the Senate have repeatedly given women full credit for securing favorable action on this resolution. The Committee is still in existence, and is expected to support Senate acceptance of the Root formula.

Although they have not again formed a special committee, many of the women's organizations have actively coöperated in the campaigns to prevent the passage of bills greatly increasing the navy; to prevent war with Mexico, and in favor of the Kellogg Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War.

The effectiveness of the present organization of women was very clearly brought out in the campaign for this world peace pact. Since 1925, nine, the number now stands at ten, women's organizations have been united under the leadership of Mrs. Catt in the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Four national conferences have been held to which all of these organizations have sent large delegations. At each one, the outstanding problems in international relations not only have been discussed by men and women best informed about them, but government officials, responsible for the policies in regard to them, have been called upon to state their positions. These yearly conferences have been followed by local

study courses and by city, county, and state conferences. As a consequence, when it seemed possible that action on the Kellogg Pact might be delayed, or even that it might be unfavorable, it was a simple matter for the women to take immediate action.

During 1928, 14,000 meetings were held at which resolutions were adopted calling for the ratification of the Pact. Copies were sent to the Secretary of State and the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and finally copies were presented to their senators by the state delegations attending the 1929 Conference in Washington. In England women were carrying on a similar agitation for the same purpose.

Through its Committee for Peace and the League of Nations, which was organized in 1926, the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship also gives women an opportunity to coöperate internationally in peace programs. The committee was formed because of the conviction of the Alliance that "the entrance of women into political life is necessary to secure universal peace," and in order "to examine in what way they can use their political powers" toward this end. The first study conference of this committee, held in Amsterdam in 1927, and attended by delegates from fifteen nations, adopted resolutions recommending the appointment of women to committees under the League of Nations having to do with economic affairs, supported the recommendation of the World Economic Conference on the removal of trade barriers, urged adherence to the optional clause, further definite work toward disarmament and international agreements interdicting all recourse to war.

Within the last few years the organized women of the United States have been reaching out toward affiliation with the women of the Latin American countries and with those of the Pacific region. As a part of its convention in 1922, the League of Women Voters organized a Pan American Conference of Women, out of which has grown the Inter-American Union of Women, the present president of which is Mlle. Bertha Lutz of Brazil. Pan American meetings have also been held in connection with the Bolivar Centenary celebration at Panama, and the Pan American scientific congresses which met in Washington and in Lima. The General Federation of Women's Clubs is this year devoting its program to increasing international goodwill among the women of the American Republics.

In 1928, at the suggestion of the Pan Pacific Union, the first Pan Pacific Conference of women was held at Honolulu, under the chairmanship of Jane Addams. The opportunity which it gave the nearly two hundred women, who came together from twelve Pacific nations, to discuss their common problems, particularly concerning the education and protection of children, and the position of women, was of such value that a second conference is planned for 1930.

Women are not confining their study to abstract questions, or to what may be gathered from experts. Through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, committees of women are being sent to "danger spots," throughout the world, to make first-hand studies of the situations which threaten international peace.

The first of these missions went to Haiti at the request of the women of that Republic. The appeal of the Haitian women was based on their distress over the fact that their children were growing up with hatred toward America and without any sense of responsibility toward their own govern-

ment. The international office of the Women's International League appointed the United States section as a special committee, and this group invited the Quakers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International Council of Women of the Darker Races, and the National Association of Colored Women, to send representatives with its committee. The mission resulted in the publication of a report, edited by Emily Balch, under the title *Occupied Haiti*, which has been accepted, even by those not in sympathy with all of its recommendations, as a notably fair and illuminating statement of the facts.

A second mission went to China, and others have visited various points in the Balkans.

Women of Denmark and Germany formed a committee which lived on the frontier for several months in order to become familiar with the problems that the two countries face. Recently, another group has gone to Mexico as a preliminary to a Mexican-American border line conference of women. These missions offer a new approach to international problems, and suggest a new technique in their solution.

The 1929 Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is another evidence of the desire of women to get definite facts. It met in Frankfurt, and was called

> to bring before the public, ten years after the war, the great advance in chemical destruction, and to point out, as clearly as possible, what another war would be, bringing home to scientists something of their responsibility.

After they have found out the facts involved in some of these world problems, the women are further seeking to find out what political parties and political candidates propose to do about them. In recent campaigns at least two of their organizations, the League of Women Voters and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, have sent questionnaires to candidates on international questions, which are distinctly educational not only in regard to international affairs, but in regard to the point of view of women voters! They have also appeared before party platform committees with peace planks. In the 1928 campaign the plank proposed by the League of Women Voters was this:

> We endorse the effort to secure by one uniform agreement with many nations the renunciation of war as between themselves, and we support the substitution of arbitration for war as an instrument of public policy in the settlement of international differences. We further reiterate our support of the entry of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice.

This women's plank says nothing about aggressive wars, nor does it exclude from arbitration questions affecting national honor, or the Monroe Doctrine, or any other subject. The women's planks were not adopted, but there was to be noted in the acceptance and campaign speeches of the candidates, and finally in the inaugural address of President Hoover, an emphasis on peace which it seems unlikely would have been found in them had they been addressed to a citizenship composed only of men.

In the present campaign in England, the political parties are definitely vying with each other to convince the women voters of their active interest in peace. The Liberal and Labor parties alike have issued vigorous manifestos outlining programs which call for reduction of armaments, for the development of arbitration, and for a variety of measures designed to promote peace.

The Conservative Party's "Appeal to Women" did not include in its first edition any argument based on its peace activities. A second edition was promptly issued in which the first paragraphs claim credit for the Conservatives, though their right to it is disputed by the other parties, for

whole-hearted support of the League of Nations; promotion of the Locarno Treaties; ratification of the Kellogg Pact; earnest work for universal reduction of armaments and a reduction in expenditures on defense forces of five and one-half millions since 1924.

International affairs also were once supposed to be beyond the voter's horizon, but women are bringing them out into the foreground of political campaigns. The questions involved in them, according to women, are questions for every man. The facts about them can be known and understood, and the problems they present can be solved.

Among the concrete suggestions for immediate action which women have offered, several have to do with the State Department. At a meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in May, 1928, Mrs. Catt proposed the development of the State Department "into an active unafraid power for peace," which should receive a part of the eighty-two cents per tax dollar now going to the War Department, and should set up "as lively a publicity section for arbitration as there is for a big navy." Mrs. Catt held that confidence in the positive aggressiveness of peace would lead to a sense of security which would make the solution of many problems, including that of disarmament, possible. Other suggestions have included the appointment of civilian aides to the State Department such as the War Department has only lately enlisted in its service; the attachment of a woman as assistant secretary to the Department, as a liaison officer between it and the public, particularly the public of women (in the War Department there is already such an officer); and the establishment of closer relations with the Foreign Relations Committee and through them, with the Senate, to prevent the failure of treaties in that body. All of these suggestions reflect the faith of women in knowledge, in education, a faith which they have won through hard experience.

Whether the particular plans proposed by women are accepted or not, the result of their proposal and of the constant meetings, resolutions, delegations, and questionnaires of women, is that the men in charge of governments are being forced to center their attention unremittingly upon the problem of how to maintain peace. Women have not yet gotten down to the house to house campaigning of suffrage days when, by means of it, the rank and file of the women of the country were lined up behind the leaders, but if it is necessary they undoubtedly will. Even today governments feel behind the leaders the great mass of women, who may not understand the intricacies of world problems, but who all the world believes are profoundly and instinctively opposed to war. For although there may be individual women and small groups of women who do not feel, or for reasons left over from an earlier day, will not admit, an instinctive opposition to war, nevertheless, women are counted on the side of peace. By the long training of necessity, they have the habit of thinking in other terms than those of force. They have no close connection with the financial undertakings which are supposed to be among the influences maintaining the old war system. Their

instinct to consider before all other things the protection of their children cannot be denied, and today the protection of children makes necessary the abolition of war.

Meanwhile, because women are concerning themselves with international affairs, social and humanitarian problems in which are involved the welfare, the education, the freedom and happiness of children and of men and women, will receive an emphasis they otherwise would not in the new world order.

Woman's Era in the Police Department

By Helen D. Pigeon
Executive Secretary, International Association of Policewomen

MADAM citizen, long before she became a citizen in the strict sense of the term, had abandoned the hectic spring and fall method of housecleaning in favor of the regular use of a vacuum cleaner, and as she makes her way in increasing numbers from the comparative serenity of the home into the maelstrom of civic affairs she carries this wisdom with her and smiles, sometimes covertly, sometimes most openly, at the old-fashioned housekeeping methods of her brother citizen. Particularly does she smile over the police department, where every so often, with a precision which might be mathematically calculated, some American city finds graft, persecution, and stupidity among its police. In order not to fall behind in the parade of municipal fashion, it blazons its affliction on the front pages of the local press and sends them humming over the wires of the national news service. At this very moment, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington are striving for a leading rôle in this crime drama, but even the natural stardom of a federal city pales beside the magnificent technique of a Chicago. Sometimes the *deus ex machina* is the political party which is "out," but which has the acumen to know its opponent's weakest spot; sometimes it is a body of indignant citizens honestly trying to right a wrong; and in the Capital it is a congressional investigating committee enjoying the noble sport of Solons.

When the dust has cleared away, what will be left? Some reputations rightfully damaged, some reputations wrongfully damaged, and a citizenship which has less faith than ever in its police. Will thoughtful reconstruction follow in the path of this destruction? Will there emerge a scientific method of identification; a record system which will make the story of the city's criminals and their haunts an open book; or motor cars and cycles which will cut down the man power necessary to patrol vast areas; or signal lights to summon the forces instantly in an emergency? Will there be a training school to equip the raw recruit for the intricacies of his job, lest he go out, as many have done before him, with a night stick in his hand, a map of his beat in his pocket and in his keeping the life and happiness of the citizens? Will the *deus ex machina* tarry to tighten up the Civil Service regulations, so that the feebleminded, the law breakers, and the favorites of the ward boss, shall not be chosen ahead of honest men and true? Will there be a chief of police who has education, vision and scientific knowledge and who compares in calibre with the commissioner of public health, or the superintendent of schools? Most important of all, will the people be led to a new attitude towards the police, giving them understanding and support, so that they can battle successfully against the national crime problem? Will they cease to view the police as merely punitive and see them as protective and preventive agents, guarding the people? Will they realize that the police are exercising the police power, which is the regulation of life of the people, than which nothing is more venerable historically, nor more fundamental politically? And that

these social problems involve delicate personal and social adjustments in family and community life, which demand the technique of the social worker and the tact and insight of a woman?

Alas, no, too often in the past the dust and stir has been Sir Citizen beating his carpet with spring fervor in the back yard and there has been no woman to put the pictures back in place and pin on the antimacassars, and certainly no one to substitute the daily use of the vacuum cleaner.

Such a state of affairs naturally brought its challenge to women, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw many years ago pointed out the contribution which women could make within the police department, in protecting the welfare of women and children.

The Beginning of the Women's Division of the Police Department

The first important step was taken in 1905, when the brave city fathers of Portland, Oregon, gave the police power into the hands of women during the Lewis and Clarke Exposition. Under the leadership of Mrs. Lola Baldwin, a little band of able workers gave their protection to the young girls who were employed at the exposition, and their effective service laid the foundation for the present Women's Division of the Portland Police Department. The first to bear the actual title of "policewoman" was Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, appointed in Los Angeles in 1910, and under her leadership, the movement slowly extended to some thirty cities by 1917. Then came the war years, leaving their indelible mark on this pioneer field and giving it an impetus which has carried the policewomen's service into 220 cities and towns in the United States. Many factors contributed, of course—the social and economic freedom of women, their new political status and their participation in public affairs. Most particularly the work of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, which interested itself in the physical and social welfare of men in service, brought into bold relief the inadequacy of existing facilities. Through their trained agents, this commission demanded of communities decent detention quarters, the examination of sex offenders, scientific case work, more and better recreation and the proper supervision of commercial amusements. Many trained workers who had never given the matter thought before, realized that much of this service lay naturally within the province of the police department. They recognized, too, that its strategic position on the first line of social defense gave it a distinct advantage over the court and the private social agencies, which must so often wait for cases to become acute before there can be any intervention. Perhaps, most important of all, the lay women of the country, through their war service, learned "how the other half lives" and quickened to a sympathy for women and children, which is writing new pages in the history of mankind. Through such national groups as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the League of Women Voters, the Daughters of the American Revolution, The National Council of Women, and the Congress of Parents and Teachers, the women of America have endorsed the principles of the policewoman's movement and have been the prime movers in establishing the service.

The Woman's Bureau Within the Police Department and How It Functions

In the large cities the trend is definitely towards the unit form of or-

ganization, that is, a Woman's Bureau within the police department, headed by a competent woman who is directly responsible to the chief of police. Since the policewomen deal with the purely social problems of the police department, it is quite as logical that they should be handled in a separate department, as that traffic and crime detection should be separated from the other functions of the service. The director in charge of the Bureau is given police rank and is entitled to the same salary, powers and privileges, as the men of equal rank. Miss Hutzel, in Detroit, is a deputy commissioner, Miss Henry, of Cleveland and Miss Randall, of Portland, are captains, and in Washington, Mrs. Van Winkle, is a lieutenant. Recently, several cities have given the rank of sergeant to other policewomen, within the bureaus, who have charge of certain phases of the work. In general, an amendment to the city charter, or an ordinance, establishes the bureau, defining its functions, the qualifications of its personnel, and the size of the staff, so that changes in administration cannot injure its effectiveness.

Usually the men officers are instructed to turn over to the Woman's Bureau cases affecting women and children. One group of policewomen investigates these cases, arranging when necessary for physical and mental examinations and a minute study of the social environment. When the diagnosis is made, they sometimes effect an adjustment, sometimes they refer the case to the social agencies of the city for long-time treatment and sometimes they must resort to the court or the institution. Another group of policewomen investigates community conditions affecting the safety of youth, through patrol (not in uniform) of the parks and railroad stations, the moving picture houses, and the dance halls. It is becoming a common practice to add to these functions the care of women and girls, during detention, and thus the police matrons and detention quarters are being placed under the jurisdiction of the Woman's Bureau.

In the less populated communities, where the nearest social agency may be many miles away, the lone policewoman must function in a broader field. This is not inconsistent with the scope of the police power and is quite in line with European practice, where health, relief and similar functions, are included in the police service. Since the police power in some form exists in every community, no matter how small or how remote, it is more economical to add a policewoman, or a woman deputy sheriff, than to set up a new and separate association, and she will have the added advantage or being clothed in authority and understood by the citizens. If she has ability, she will in time stimulate the establishment of other social agencies to supplement her work. To cite an instance, the policewoman in a far western town administers relief, acts as matron when an offender is detained, gives first aid, investigates all cases needing social adjustment and in most instances she is obliged to supply all the service which a host of social agencies would give in a city. She supervises places of recreation, gives probation service in the court upon occasion, organizes recreation, and aids the state health and education boards in their local work. Now her community is beginning to realize the breadth of its social problems, and she sees in the near future the appointment of other social workers in the court, the school and the health department.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE POLICEWOMEN'S SERVICE

The very backbone of the policewomen's service lies in the matter of

personnel. The humorists are being deprived of a valuable article in their stock in trade, as the "lady cop" of other days, burly and beligerant, disappears from the picture and is replaced by a woman of college education, trained in social case work, and clothed in dignity and kindness. In Berkeley, California, the policewoman is a college graduate, a trained social worker and a psychiatrist; in Washington the sergeant is a Phi Beta Kappa girl from Barnard, and in Cleveland the captain is a graduate of Western Reserve and a trained social worker with years of experience in protective work. Such standards are no longer an ideal in the minds of the visionaries; they are universally recognized as essential. The Civil Service Commissions, especially that of the Federal Government, are preparing examinations which will eliminate the untrained political appointee and scientifically select suitable material. The usual *minimum*, in communities where the work is efficient, is a high school education plus two years of professional experience—a long journey, as one can see, from some of the police standards of the past.

Types of Cases Handled by Policewomen

The cases which come under the jurisdiction of the policewomen run the whole gamut of human experience, from humor to pathos and tragedy. There are the missing girls who, it is said, march across this continent each year in an army of 60,000 strong. Sometimes they are in rebellion against intolerable conditions in the home, sometimes they cannot face the aftermath of their own wrong doing, sometimes they are seeking the golden adventure at the end of the rainbow. But always they are in danger and the policewomen are weaving a protective net, which is locating them promptly and is providing for their proper adjustment, in home or community, so that their perilous experience will not be repeated forthwith. Several cities have reported success in 90 per cent of their cases and their improvement in technique is raising even this satisfactory percentage. One policewoman has enlisted the aid of the lodging-house keepers in her town, who notify her whenever they find a girl in difficulty or without visible means of support. Through a friendly call, she has been able to locate many a runaway girl and fugitive from justice, or to give her kindly assistance to the girl without a job and the unmarried mother on the brink of despair.

In the department stores, the policewoman finds many a first offender who stands at the fork in the road. Sometimes it is the child stealing a toy, more for the thrill of adventure than the gain of a new possession; sometimes, alas, it is the youth who has been taught the trade of stealing by a greedy parent; again it is the mental defective; or the young girl whose tastes are far beyond her pocketbook. Each case differs from the other, and each one needs scientific investigation and careful adjustment. Success not only means a lessening in the number of hardened offenders, but it saves thousands of dollars for the business men each year and it frightens away for all time the professional shoplifter, who gives a wide berth to cities where there are policewomen.

The young sex offender and the innocent victim of assault and rape are ever in need of the kindly offices of a woman. With tact and wisdom, the experience may become part of a forgotten past, but in unskillful hands it may leave a mark which can never be eradicated. Women everywhere are coming to feel that their sister women, in these

unfortunate circumstances, must be under the care of women from first to last, and that these cases at least are making the employment of policewomen mandatory. Domestic problems, likewise, find their way to the desk in the Woman's Bureau. Here again, the intervention of the disinterested third party, trained in social problems, means another chance for happiness and a successful family life. The judge in an eastern city has made it a rule to ask the policewomen to see both husband and wife before he hears any separation or non-support case, and many are the tangles which are unraveled outside the court room.

THE PATROL OF PUBLIC PLACES

In addition to her work with the individual case which is referred to the police department, the policewoman, through her patrol of public places, reaches many cases which might not otherwise come to the attention of a social agency until irreparable damages had been done. Under the changing conditions of modern life, this patrol is one of the most important developments in modern social work and its future is unlimited. Furthermore, the policewoman, in her supervision of places of public recreation, has an opportunity to answer one of the severe criticisms against the social worker, to wit, that in delinquency problems she does not attack the source of infection or stem the tide. It is well known that the public dance hall, the burlesque show, or the amusement park, which is not properly run, where the most vicious elements mingle at will with those in search of innocent pleasure, is the mills in which a certain portion of our delinquency problem is manufactured. Their regulation is a part of the police duty and it is now being delegated more and more to the policewomen. In some cities the whole dance hall situation is in their hands. They draw up the ordinance, they issue the license, they choose the matrons who serve in each hall, they visit the dances, and they deal with any individuals who seem in need of their protection or intervention. In the moving picture houses, the policewomen have secured the gratitude of the managers through their success in prosecuting certain types of degenerate men who insult and frighten women in the audience. A patrolman, or an usher in uniform, cannot secure evidence of this particular sort and the women who are annoyed are unwilling to testify in court. Hence many dangerous characters were allowed to go free until the coming of the policewoman. In the matter of truants and "parked children," too, the policewomen are helpful, and now they are winning the coöperation of the managers to such an extent that their voice is being listened to in criticism of certain undesirable films. The burlesque show presents a more stubborn face, but the policewomen have sometimes won by moral suasion, and sometimes by the more drastic measures of actual arrest, and the word has gone out that the shows on the circuit must be cleaner in cities where there are women in the police department.

Perhaps it is in the field of detention that the policewoman has made her most notable contribution. While decent provisions have been made for children in many communities, the girl over the juvenile court age and the adult woman offender must still abide in the police cell, sometimes under conditions of actual squalor and menace. This is true in hundreds of communities, but few citizens ever take the pains to investigate. The policewoman knows, however, and one of her most important tasks has been to

improve those facilities, so that there shall be cleanliness, segregation of the first offenders from the more hardened, and some employment for the long hours of waiting. Several cities, notably Baltimore, Portland, Detroit, Cleveland and Washington, have provided new quarters, allowing for these reforms. In Cleveland, for instance, a hospital has been remodeled for this purpose. The first floor houses the Woman's Bureau and a clinic where physical and mental examinations can be given. On the upper floors there is room to separate colored from white, first offenders from the more hardened, there are large, pleasant living rooms where the girls find employment and recreation and there is a personnel of high-calibre women who give them a new outlook on life. Thus the destructive hours in the police cell are giving way to the constructive influence of a properly run house of detention, both in the large city, and, on a smaller scale, in the town and rural section.

THE POLICEWOMAN AND THE PUBLIC

As we have indicated in the beginning, one of the difficulties of the American police department, lies in the public misunderstanding of its functions. It is seldom indeed that a civic organization asks its chief of police to make a speech, although it hears from all the other public officials. The policewomen want to overcome this mystery which surrounds police practice, and they count as an important part of their service their contact with the organized groups in the community. One policewoman addressed 92 associations last year, including the local university, Rotary, Kiwanis, the women's clubs, churches, and school authorities, and already has reaped a reward through better coöperation with parents, teachers and business men, to say nothing of the increase in the number of cases referred.

Through the headquarters of the International Association of Policewomen, in Washington, educational work on a larger scale is being carried on, by supplying articles to magazines, providing speakers to colleges and organizations and offering field work and technical data to public officials who wish to set up the service. In addition to the regular membership, there is a large group of sponsors, representative men and women who understand and encourage the policewoman's movement. Through these, the policewoman is being assured of the support of the leading citizens in the community, and the movement as a whole, is receiving a new impetus which is carrying it forward at a pace which challenges the progress of any similar form of social service.

Thus, it is, that the women of today are keeping house in the police department, building quietly, but very solidly for the future, avoiding the furore of a spring cleaning, and guarding what is always woman's greatest concern, the safety and happiness of youth.

Legal and Administrative Restrictions Affecting the Rights of Married Women to Work

By Mary Phlegar Smith
Research Assistant, Institute for Research in Social Science,
University of North Carolina

UNDER the English common law a woman, upon marrying, gave up her legal personality. It became merged with that of her husband and was lost as an entity. Under these conditions the wife's services belonged to the husband. Whether she worked in the home, in her husband's business, or for third persons, her labor was not her own but her husband's. It was not legal for her to contract for her services, though by securing her husband's consent such a contract was rendered valid. Courts held that this consent might be implied, and recognized tacit acquiescence as well as written consent. However, when contracts of this kind were made the law allowed to the husband all that the wife earned. These earnings and whatever property was purchased with them belonged to him and were subject to the claims of his creditors.

Statutory changes have in large measure removed these disabilities. The last seventy-five years have witnessed the attainment of more rights and privileges by married women, and, as a general proposition, it may now be said, that in most states they have full capacity to contract for their own services, and to retain their earnings from such labor for their sole and separate use. In other words, their labor, beyond the domestic duties required by the marital relation, belongs to themselves.

Statutes Emancipating Married Women in the United States

In order to look into the situation further it may be well to list some of these emancipating statutes—Married Women's Acts, as they are frequently called. Certain sections, illustrative of the liberal and of the conservative laws, will be quoted. Conservatism, it is well to remember, is evidenced not so much by the wording of the laws which are on the books, as by the lack of enabling statutes.

Alabama—Code, 1923, sec. 8262. The earnings of the wife are her separate property; but she is not entitled to compensation for services rendered to or for the husband, or to or for the family.

Sec. 8267. The wife has full legal capacity to contract as if she were sole, except as otherwise provided by law. (Exceptions are relative to suretyship and contracting for homestead.)

Arizona—R. S., 1913, sec. 3852. Hereafter married women shall have the same legal rights as men of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, except the right to make contracts binding the common property of the husband and wife, and shall be subject to the same legal liabilities as men of the age of twenty-one years and upwards.

Sec. 3849 provides that the earnings of the wife while living separate from her husband shall be her separate property. Sec. 3850 defines community property.

Arkansas—Digest of Statutes, 1919, sec. 5581. A married woman may bargain, sell, assign and transfer her separate personal property, and can carry on any trade or business, and perform any labor or services on her sole and separate account; and the earnings of any married woman, from her trade, business, labor or services, shall be her sole and separate property, and may be used or invested by her in her own name; and she may alone sue or be sued in the courts of this state on account of the said property, business or services.

Sec. 5577. Every married woman and

every woman who may in the future become married shall have all the rights to contract and be contracted with, to sue and be sued, and in law and equity shall enjoy all rights and be subjected to all the laws of this State, as though she were a femme sole; provided, it is expressly declared to be the intention of this act to remove all statutory disabilities of married women as well as common law disabilities . . .

California—Civil Code, 1927, sec. 158. Either husband or wife may enter into any engagement or transaction with the other or with any other person, respecting property, which either might if unmarried; subject, in transactions between themselves, to the general rules which control the actions of persons occupying confidential relations with each other, . . .

Sec. 169 provides that the earnings of the wife while living separate from her husband shall be her separate property. Code of Civil Procedure, secs. 1811–1821 give the steps to be taken in becoming a free trader.

Colorado—Mill's Ann. St., 1925, sec. 4752. Any married woman may carry on any trade or business, and perform any labor or services, on her sole and separate account, and the earnings of any married woman, from her trade, business, labor or services, shall be her sole and separate property, and may be used and invested by her in her own name; and she may sue and be sued as if sole, in regard to her trade, business, labor services and earnings, and her property acquired by trade, business and services, and the proceeds thereof, may be taken on any execution against her.

Connecticut—Gen. St., 1918, sec. 5274.

Delaware—R. S., 1915, sec. 3059.

District of Columbia—Code, 1924, sec. 1155. Married women shall have power to engage in any business, and to contract, whether engaged in business or not, and to sue separately upon their contracts . . . as fully and freely as if they were unmarried.

Florida—G. L., 1927, sec. 5867. The property of the wife shall remain in the care and management of the husband but he shall not charge for his care and management . . .

Sec. 5871. A married woman's wages and earnings acquired by her in any employment separate from her husband shall be her separate property and subject to her own disposal, and she shall be entitled to sue for and recover the same as though she were a single woman.

Georgia—Code, 1926, sec. 3007.

Idaho—Comp. St., 1919, secs. 4660, 4663, 4667.

Illinois—Callaghan's St., 1924, ch. 68, sec. 6. Contracts may be made and liabilities incurred by a wife, and the same enforced against her, to the same extent and in the same manner as if she were unmarried.

Sec. 7. A married woman may receive, use and possess her own earnings, and sue for the same in her own name, free from the interference of her husband or his creditors.

Sec. 8. Neither husband or wife shall be entitled to recover any compensation for any labor performed or services rendered for the other, whether in the management of property or otherwise.

Indiana—Burns' Ann. St., 1926, sec. 8740. A married woman may carry on any trade or business and perform any service or labor on her sole and separate account. The earnings and profits of any married woman, accruing from her trade, business, services or labor, other than labor for her husband or family, shall be her sole and separate property.

Iowa—Code, 1927, secs. 10461, 10466, similar to secs. 6 and 7, Illinois Statutes, *supra*.

Kansas—R. S., 1923, sec. 23.204, similar in content to Indiana Statute, sec. 8740, *supra*.

Kentucky—Carroll's St., 1922, sec. 2128.

Louisana—Civil Code, Art. 122, 1782–86.

Maine—R. S., 1916, ch. 66, sec. 3. She may receive the wages of her personal labor, not performed for her own family, maintain an action therefor in her own name, and hold them in her own right against her husband or any other person.

Maryland—Ann. Code, 1924, Art. 45, secs. 5 and 20; Art. 56, sec. 43.

Massachusetts—G. L., 1921, ch. 209, secs. 2 and 4. Sec. 10 gives the procedure for becoming a free trader.

Michigan—Comp. L., 1922, sec. 11478. Each and every married woman . . . shall be absolutely entitled to have, hold, own,

retain and enjoy any and all earnings acquired by any such married woman as a result of her personal efforts; and to sell or otherwise dispose of any and all such earnings and to make contracts in relation thereto to the same extent that any such married woman could have or do if unmarried.

Minnesota—Mason's St., 1927, sec. 8616. Women shall retain the same legal existence and legal personality after marriage as before, and every married woman shall receive the same protection of all her rights as a woman which her husband does as a man, including the right to appeal to the courts in her own name alone for protection or redress; but this section shall not confer upon the wife a right to vote or hold office, except as is otherwise provided by law.

Sec. 8617. All property, real, personal, and mixed, and all choses in action owned by any woman at the time of her marriage, shall continue to be her separate property, notwithstanding such marriage; and any married woman, during coverture, may receive, acquire, and enjoy property of every description, and the rents, issues and profits thereof, and all avails of her contracts and industry, free from the control of her husband . . . as fully as if she were unmarried.

Sec. 8618. . . . She may make any contract which she could make if unmarried, and shall be bound thereby except that every conveyance and contract for the sale of her real estate or any interest therein . . .

Mississippi—Hemingway's Ann. Code, 1927, sec. 2185. Married women are fully emancipated from all disabilities on account of coverture; and the common law as to the disabilities of married women and its effect on the rights of property of the wife is totally abrogated, and marriage shall not impose any disability or incapacity on a woman, as to the ownership, acquisition or disposition of property of any sort, or as to her capacity to make contracts and do all acts in reference to property which she should lawfully do if she were not married; but every woman now married, or hereafter to be married, shall have the same capacity to acquire, hold, manage, control, use, enjoy, and dispose of all property, real and personal, in possession or expectancy, and to make any contract in reference to it, and to bind herself personally, and to sue and be sued, with all the rights and liabilities incident thereto, as if she were not married.

Sec. 2189. Husband and wife shall not contract with each other, so as to entitle the one to claim or receive any compensation from the other for work and labor . . .

Missouri—R. S., 1919, sec. 7323. A married woman shall be deemed a femme sole so far as to enable her to carry on and transact business on her own account, to contract and be contracted with, to sue and be sued, and to enforce and have enforced against her property such judgments as may be rendered against her . . .

Sec. 7328 provides that the wages of a married woman shall be her separate property.

Montana—R. Code, 1921, secs. 5795, 5810–11.

Nebraska—Com. St., 1922, sec. 1511, similar to Indiana Statute, sec. 8740, *supra*.

Nevada—R. L., 1919, secs. 2167–69, 2173. See secs. 2190–92 for provisions for becoming a free trader.

New Hampshire—R. L., 1926, ch. 288, secs. 1–2.

New Jersey—Comp. St., 1910, ch. Married Women, sec. 4.

New Mexico—Code, 1915, secs. 2750, 2759–60, 2764.

New York—Cahill's Con. L., 1923, Art. 4, sec. 51, ch. 14. A married woman has all the rights in respect to property, real or personal, and the acquisition, use, enjoyment and disposition thereof, and to make contracts in respect thereto with any person, including her husband, and to carry on any business, trade or occupation, and to exercise all powers and enjoy all rights in respect thereto and in respect to her contracts, and be liable on such contracts, as if she were unmarried; but a husband and wife cannot contract to alter or dissolve the marriage or to relieve the husband from his liability to support his wife.

North Carolina—C.S., 1919, sec. 2507. Subject to the provisions of section 2515 of this chapter, regulating contracts of wife with husband affecting corpus or income of estate, every married woman is authorized

to contract and deal so as to affect her real and personal property in the same manner and with the same effect as if she were unmarried . . .

Sec. 2513. The earnings of a married woman by virtue of any contract for her personal service, and any damages for personal injuries, or other tort sustained by her, can be recovered by her suing alone, and such earnings or recovery shall be her sole and separate property as fully as if she had remained unmarried.

Secs. 2525–2528 give the procedure for becoming a free trader.

North Dakota—C. L., 1913, sec. 4411.

Ohio—Code, 1929, sec. 7999. A husband or wife may enter into any engagement or transaction with the other, or with any other person, which either might if unmarried; subject, in transactions between themselves, to the general rules which control the actions of persons occupying confidential relations with each other.

Oklahoma—Comp. St., 1921, sec. 6609, similar to Cal. C. C., sec. 158, *supra*; sec. 6613 and 6619. The latter same as Minnesota Statutes, sec. 8616, *supra*.

Oregon—Laws, 1920, secs. 9758–59.

Pennsylvania—Statutes, 1920, secs. 14569–70, 14574. Sec. 14580 gives the procedure for becoming free trader.

Rhode Island—G. L., 1923, sec. 4195. A married woman may make any contract whatsoever, the same as if she were single and unmarried, and with the same rights and liabilities.

Sec. 4210. A married woman may carry on any trade or business as if she were single and unmarried; but her husband shall not be liable for her debts, contracts or torts therein. Nothing herein contained, however, shall be construed to allow any husband and wife to enter into any trading partnership together.

South Carolina—Code, 1922, secs. 5538, 5540.

South Dakota—Rev. Code, 1919, secs. 171, 178.

Tennessee—Ann. Code, 1917, secs. 4249a1, 4249a4.

Texas—Rev. Civil St., 1925, Art. 4616. Procedure for becoming a free trader contained in art. 4626.

Utah—Comp. L., 1917, secs. 2984, 2986, similar to Illinois statutes, ch. 68, secs. 6 and 7.

Vermont— G. L., 1917, sec. 3521.

Virginia—Code, 1924, sec. 5134.

Washington—Remington's Comp. St., 1922, secs. 6895, 6901–2.

West Virginia—Barnes Ann. Code, 1923, ch. 66, secs. 12 and 14.

Wisconsin—Statutes, 1927, sec. 246.05. See 246.06 for procedure for becoming free trader.

Wyoming—Comp. St., 1920, secs. 4975, 4978. The latter in content is similar to Colorado Statutes, sec. 4752, supra.

LEGAL RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE RIGHT OF MARRIED WOMEN TO WORK

It becomes evident upon looking over these statutes that while a married woman seems to be given full right to contract for her services, to work where and for whom she pleases, and to consider her earnings her own property, yet some limitations persist.

As to Partnership.—The Rhode Island law definitely prohibits a wife from entering into a partnership with her husband. She is similarly restricted in Michigan. *Caldwell* v. *Jones*, 115 Mich. 130. Although, by Michigan law, she may enter into partnership relations with third persons, *Vail* v. *Winterstein*, 94 Mich. 253, and may carry on a business on her own account, she may not compete with her husband against his consent. *Root* v. *Root*, 164 Mich. 638. Partnership agreements of a wife with her husband have been held invalid in other states: 73 Conn. 696, 49 Atl. 205; *Norwood* v. *Francis*, 25 App. D. C. 463; *Voss* v. *Sylvester*, 203 Mass. 233, 89 N. E. 241; *Board of Trade* v. *Hayden*, 4 Wash. 263; and *Gilkerson* v. *Salinger*, 56 Ark. 294.

On the other hand, the Illinois statute has been construed as offering no restriction upon the wife's entering into partnership with her husband. *Heyman* v. *Heyman*, 110 A. 87. The

Georgia courts have reached the same decision. *Vizard* v. *Moody*, 119 Ga. 918, 47 S. E. 348. Other cases in which such partnerships have been upheld are: *Marcum* v. *Smith*, 206 Ala. 466, 91 So. 259; *Anderson* v. *Citizen's National Bank*, 38 Ind. App. 190, 76 N. E. 591; *Stewart* v. *Todd*, 190 Iowa 283, 173 N. W. 619; and *Burwell* v. *South Carolina Tax Commission*,—S. C.—, 126 S. E. 29.

According to Florida law a married woman may not enter into any business partnership, either with her husband or with third persons. Her separate property, however, may be invested in a business and she may acquire an interest. *LeNoir* v. *McDaniel*,—Fla.—, 86 So. 435.

As to Contracts for Services.—The New York statute, quoted *supra*, was construed to mean that a wife cannot validly enter into a contract by which her husband agrees to pay her a definite sum per week, for her services in his business. *Re Kaufman*, 104 Fed. 768. This decision was based upon the theory that the statute gave a married woman power to contract with her husband respecting the acqusition of property but not to create property out of the performance of a service that the law intended she should give her husband, if she performed it.[1] The court said:

> . . . does (the statute) enable the wife to acquire property by agreeing to render him a service outside of her domestic duty? If so, it would enable her to acquire property by contracting with him respecting her domestic service. There is a wide distinction between a power to acquire property by a contract with the husband, and a power to create property which shall be her own, by an agreement that she shall be paid for services that the law intends that she shall render gratuitously, if at all. In other words, a contract with the husband for the acquisition of property does not include a contract to convert her personal services to her husband into property. The question is not what the law should be but what it is.

[1] 23 A. L. R. 23.

This opinion that a wife may not receive for her separate use the earnings for her labor performed in her husband's business, even though such services are not in line with the household duties which the marital relation requires of her, is supported in *Mott* v. *Mott*, 107 Me. 481, 78 Atl. 900, and *Meissler* v. *Meissler*, 101 Ill. App. 256.

In the absence of a contract with the husband, whereby he agrees to pay his wife for her services in his business, the claim of the wife for wages for services so performed, has been refused in some states. One is North Carolina. In *Dorsett* v. *Dorsett*, 183 N. C. 354, 111 S. E. 541, the Supreme Court, construing the state law as given above, held that the wife could not recover for her services to her husband in his store; and that to do so "there must be either an express or implied promise on his part to pay for them and the relationship of marriage, nothing else appearing, negatives an implied promise on his part to do so." Similarly, the Pennsylvania courts in *Standen* v. *Penna. R. Co.*, 214 Pa. 189, 63 Atl. 467, held that a married woman was not entitled to pay for help given her husband in his greenhouse, there being no contract for the same.

Some conflict upon this question is apparent, for in several of the states the wife's right to contract with her husband for her services, provided such are outside of her domestic duties, has been recognized. In *Roche* v. *Union Trust Co.*,—Ind. App.—, 52 N. E. 612, it was decided by the court that a married woman could contract for her services as a clerk in her husband's store, notwithstanding the statutory provision that she should have for her own use earnings from her labor "other than labor for husband and family."

This construction was given on the theory that work of the kind mentioned in the case is such as the marital relation does not enjoin upon her. In *Tuttle* v. *Shutts*, 43 Colo. 534, 96 Pac. 260, it was held that, under the Colorado statute quoted at the beginning of this article, the contract of a wife with her husband to serve for wages as cook for his traveling threshing outfit might be entered into as though she were sole, because such services were not domestic, but were performed away from home. The Federal Court in construing the Alabama Code, *Re Davidson*, 233 Fed. 462, decided that a wife who, in addition to discharging fully her domestic duties, served as a clerk in his store, was entitled to wages. The court in a vigorous opinion said:

> Of course there is no sound ethical reason why the wife may not perform, outside of her marital duties, services as clerk for the husband, and be paid therefor. . . . The opposing creditors, however, contend that the wife was under the disability of that relic of barbarism which denied her the right to enter into the contract with her husband. This archaic rule was a part of the rich inheritance from the common law, and, of course, at one time obtained in Alabama. . . . In my opinion there is nothing in morals, nor in sound public policy or general law, and nothing in the laws of Alabama, which inhibited the making of the contract between the wife and the husband under which she earned her compensation now claimed. On the contrary the laws of Alabama were intended to so emancipate the wife as to allow her the largest latitude in contracting for her services rendered outside of the domestic relation of wife and housekeeper.

Opinions in agreement with this were handed down in *Re Cormick*, 100 Neb. 669, 160 N. W. 989; *Nuding* v. *Urich*, 169 Pa. 289, and *Moore* v. *Crandall*, 124 C. C. A. 11, 205 Fed. 285, construing the California Civil Code.

As to Carrying on a Business.—In some states, such as Oklahoma, Ohio and Minnesota, married women have the same status as their husbands relative to their right to engage in separate business. In others they may trade as if unmarried. Washington, Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland, Rhode Island and Wyoming are in this group. Unfortunately, not all states are so liberal. In West Virginia, married women living with their husbands may not engage in business generally, *Miller* v. *Peck*, 18 W. Va. 75, but they may employ their separate estates in business. *Trapnell* v. *Conklyn*, 37 W. Va. 242, 16 S. E. 570. Michigan law prohibits a married woman from engaging in separate business, unless she has secured her husband's consent. *Lesher* v. *Brosteau*, 238 Mich. 189. This is true also in Georgia, *Cotter* v. *Gazaway*, 141 Ga. 534, and in Alabama, *Horton* v. *Hill*, 138 Ala. 625.

Married women in Nevada, Texas, Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts and North Carolina, may become sole traders only by securing judicial permission. This involves filing a petition, and having a public hearing. In Wisconsin a married woman may engage in business in her own name only when she has been deserted, or when her husband, through drunkenness, profligacy or any cause, has failed to support her and educate her children. West Virginia restricts the group of married women eligible to carry on a business in their own names, to those who are living separate and apart from their husbands. In fact, the lawmakers of these states, with the exception of Massachusetts and Texas, seem to have intended that the privilege of becoming free traders should not extend to all women generally, but only to those who, through non-support, due to the fault of the husband, desertion, or separation, are under the necessity of supporting themselves.

As to Receiving Earnings for Sole and Separate Use.—The earnings of a married woman are made her separate property by statute in practically all of the states, except the community property states. Traces of the common law still survive, however. The Maine statute, has been construed as being permissive, "not declaratory"; and unless the facts are brought within the statute authorizing the wife to claim wages earned by her outside the household, the common law rule as to their disposition will apply. *Appeal of Garland*, 126 Me. 84, 136 Atl. 459. The common law rule applies in Georgia also, unless the husband has by an agreement, either express or implied, signified his consent that earnings of the wife shall be her separate property, 148 Ga. 25, 95 S. E. 673. When the husband does so consent as to the disposition of her earnings, then the wife is entitled to them. *Central Ga. Railway Co.* v. *Cheney*, 20 Ga. App. 393, 95 S. E. 42. Under the Texas statute, making the wife's earnings during coverture, community property, it has been held that the separation of the parties does not entitle her to her earnings, where the husband continues to manage the community property. *Michael* v. *Rabe*,—Texas Civ. App.—, 109 S. W. 939.

In connection with the foregoing discussion, it is to be noted that the restrictions affecting the rights of married women to work are not alone a question of the wording of the statutes, but also of the construction placed upon them by the courts. Thus, in 12 Idaho 202, 85 Pac. 497, it was said:

> It should be borne in mind that all our legislation with reference to contracts, powers and liabilities of married women must be viewed and construed as grants instead of restrictions of power and authority to contract.

Differing from this, is the opinion of Justice Rosenberry, who says:

> From an early date this court has held that statutes conferring upon married women the rights which they possessed before their marriage was not so much the creation of a power which a married woman never possessed, as a restoration of power which she had as a femme sole and which she lost by her marriage. . . . Such statutes are to be liberally construed.

Wait v. *Pierce*,—Wis.—, 209 N. W. 475. Upon this idea of strict or liberal construction of the law, depends much in the way of increasing or reducing the discriminations against married women.

ADMINISTRATIVE RULINGS AFFECTING THE RIGHT OF MARRIED WOMEN TO WORK

By-laws Imposed by School Boards.—Besides legal restrictions there are administrative rulings which affect to a greater or less extent the right of married women to secure and retain employment beyond their domestic duties. Those which have the most far-reaching effects are by-laws imposed by school boards. The status of married women in the school systems has been widely agitated and widely discussed. Here, for a longer time and in greater numbers, married women have been confronted with this question of their eligibility to hold positions. Since the regulations relative to the matter are, in large measure, left to the local school boards, it is difficult to secure adequate information as to the scope and extent of their prohibitory principles. A recent questionnaire sent out by the National Education Association to 1,532 cities of over 2,500 population, brought replies showing that in 60.1 per cent of the schools there is a discrimination made against married women, when new teachers are being employed. Where single women already in the school systems marry, they must in 25.1 per cent of the cities

resign immediately, and in 25.5 per cent, at the end of the school year.

The fact that so large a percentage of these city school boards have rules whereby immediate resignation is demanded of all women teachers who marry, is worthy of attention. When one considers that among the cities in the group are Boston, New Orleans, Kansas City, Grand Rapids, Dallas, Spokane, Providence, Scranton, and Birmingham, it is apparent that the practice is widespread. This is substantiated by replies from 954 school superintendents throughout the country, analyzed in the *American Educational Digest* of October, 1926, which indicate that 420 of the schools had rules against the employment of married women in the schools, and in 780 preference was given to unmarried women in engaging new teachers.

Though state laws do not specify rules as to the employment of married women in the public schools, the state courts may be appealed to for redress in cases where injury has been done. In the New York courts it has been held that marriage *per se* is not cause for dismissal. *People ex rel. Murphy* v. *Maxwell*, 177 N. Y. 494. This was a case where a teacher, employed for eleven years in the New York City schools, married with full knowledge of the school board ruling making dismissal automatically follow marriage. Since the city charter listed "gross misconduct, insubordination, neglect of duty or general inefficiency" as the grounds for dismissal, the Court of Appeals, deeming marriage none of these, directed the teacher's reinstatement. Courts in Oregon, West Virginia, Indiana, and New Jersey have handed down opinions in accord with this view. Where, as in *Appeal of Conger* v. *Superintendent*, 8 State Department Reports 616 N. Y., the board can prove that its discriminating by-law is not inconsistent with the city charter or the state law, the by-law will not be overruled, as in *Murphy* v. *Maxwell, supra.* Dismissal because of absence for child birth on the ground of neglect of duty has not been upheld. Matter of *Appeal of Peixotto*, 4 State Department Reports (official) 596. See also *People ex rel. Peixotto*, 212 N. Y. 463.

Though these cases, as precedents, have succeeded in breaking down some of the restrictions against married women teachers, their application is limited. In more than forty of the states the validity of by-laws discriminating against married women has not been tested. Local rulings of this kind are unhampered in their scope and hundreds of married women are, by virtue of their provisions, prohibited from teaching. Even in the most liberal states married women teachers, unprotected by tenure of office acts, and those seeking employment in new positions find themselves denied equal competitive rights. [2]

Rulings of Private Business.—Rulings imposed by private individuals or business concerns discriminating against married women are numerous. An illustration of this type is the agreement between the management and employees of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, dated June, 1925. By virtue of this regulation married women, employed as clerks, whose husbands were working, were not to be retained after January 1, 1926. Women employees who married subsequent to that date were to resign at once. Extenuating

[2] For a further discussion of this question see National Education Association Research Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 4, *Practices Affecting Teacher Personnel*, pp. 218–222, and the citations listed. A recent study of 125 cities and towns in New York, by Dr. W. S. Elsbree, Teachers College, gives information as to the social loss involved in the annual exodus of experienced teachers due to marriage.

circumstances which warranted the retention of married women employees were passed upon by representatives of the employees and the management. This understanding has since been abrogated, and there is at the present time no rule in existence on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad affecting married women.

The Clerk's Association of the Long Island Railroad came forward in the fall of 1928 with a request that the management of their railroad amend the regulations governing employment by adding: "Married women will not be employed or retained in the service. The only exception being a married woman now or who may be employed whose husband is permanently disabled through sickness or other causes." Up to the time of writing this article no action has been taken by the railroad officials granting this request.

Private business employers who deny married women the right to work in their companies or offices, though seldom governed in this matter by legal enactments, are actuated none the less effectively by tradition and custom. A conservative conscience prompts many an employer, assuring him that married women can best raise the standards of the home by devoting their entire time to their husbands and children, and that he will be an accessory to the demoralization of family life if he aids wives and mothers in the pursuit of their careers or fuller family treasuries. The economic factor is a powerful deterrent, also, in preventing him from employing married women. He recognizes that husbands are still legally liable for the support of their wives, and therefore concludes that the wives do not "need" to work, except under extraordinary conditions. The presence of an over supply of applicants for his positions, the fact that many of these persons are totally dependent upon their earnings for their support and that of others as well cause him to deprecate the claims of the married woman applicant. The gainfully employed married woman continues to be regarded by no small group of persons as an "enemy" of society. The double wage-earning couple are felt to be a new Peter and his wife out robbing Paul, as H. Kennedy expresses it in his article in *Century Magazine* of August, 1928. Since this aspect of the situation is discussed in other chapters in this volume, further consideration will not be given to it here.

INCREASING EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN

Despite the continuing restrictions against the employment of married women, an increasing number of them are so engaged. According to 1920 census figures, 1,920,281 or 23.1 per cent of the wage earning women in the United States were married. In 1890 only 13.9 per cent of the women wage earners were married, while the percentages for 1900 and 1910 are 15.4 and 24.7 respectively. Upon examination of the census records it becomes apparent not only that the employment of married women is increasing at a much greater rate than is the employment of all women, but also that in certain fields of activity there is a much greater growth than in others. Between 1910 and 1920 the increase of married women in listed occupations as compared with the increase of all women as shown in table on page 264.

While there remain restrictions handicapping married women and limiting their right to work outside of the home, the progress which has been made toward their complete emancipation should not be lost sight of. Justice Powell stated it thus: "A married woman, who to trace her ascent in the social scale according to a noted French

PER CENT OF INCREASE AND DECREASE
1910–1920

	Married Women Wage Earners Per Cent	All Women Wage Earners Per Cent
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	− 46	− 36
Extraction of minerals	+244	+106
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	+ 41	+ 7
Transportation	+208	+100
Trade	+ 88	+ 21
Public service	+ 72	+ 60
Professional service	+ 62	+ 38
Domestic and personal service	− 3	− 12
Clerical occupations	+293	+141

anthropologist of the last generation, was 'first a beast of burden, then a domestic animal, then a slave, then a servant and then a minor,' is now, according to our law, a free trader . . .," *Columbus Third National Bank* v. *Poe*, 5 G. A. 113, 116, 62 S. E. 826. The present-day view of public policy has shifted to the point where marriage is no longer considered a decisive factor in a women's status as a wage earner. The pressure brought to bear by single women and some married men, against their married sister co-laborer and competitor seems to be having small success in stemming the tide of married women workers. Of course, the more married women who combine home making with their professional careers after marriage, the more strength will be amassed against the surviving remnants of common law restrictions and custom which limit the rights of married women in the field of employment. Coördinate with these lessening discriminations will come, as has been true in the past, increasing responsibilities, less privileges from coverture. For this struggle for "rights" carries married women in the direction of retention of individuality—in a legal, social and economic sense.

At the Crossroads in the Legal Protection of Women in Industry

By Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University

WHY are there special laws for women in industry and to what extent have they accomplished their aim? These have been seething questions since the World War—a far cry from those days at the turn of the century when pitying friends of overworked women pleaded with legislatures to pass bills for their relief. Year after year as women poured into store and factory these pleadings were heard. Laws were enacted in one state after another reducing inhumanly long hours in the working day, limiting or forbidding night work or all employment in mines, saloons, and certain other specific occupations, demanding seats and decent dressing rooms, and, in a number of states, minimum wages. Public sentiment was aroused in favor of these laws and they largely stood the tests of the courts.

Any who wish to know vividly and at length the basis for this crop of laws can do no better than to pore over the Federal report in the nineteen volumes on *The Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, published in 1915, and summarized in Bulletin No. 175 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. This and, in England, Hutchins' and Harrison's *History of Factory Legislation* and those delightfully written volumes of the Hammonds', *The Town Labourer*, *The Village Labourer*, and *The Rise of Modern Industry*.

In works such as these one learns of the suffering among workers which the introduction of power machinery wrought. All workers were victims but protection was urged for women much more than for men. The reasons for this sex discrimination are well known by now, at least those which lie on the surface. The phrases "physical inferiority" of women, their "potential motherhood" and the "welfare of the race" suggest them. It was these concepts which threw into relief the ugly facts of employment that prompted special legal protection for women.

Important facts are that employed women are young—over 41 per cent of them in 1920 being less than twenty-five years of age, and about one-half of these under twenty. One-fifth of all employed females are married, and many are mothers of little children. Morbidity studies show that women suffer some 50 per cent more sickness than men. These conditions have kept women's union membership smaller than that of men and their bargaining power weaker, so that they tend to be more particularly prey of unscrupulous employers. This is destructive to women's health and to the health of their children.

The Basis for the Opposition to Special Legislation for Women Workers

The desirability of these laws for the special protection of women was rarely questioned in the earlier part of this century. In fact, the custom of having them was established then. The great remaining task appeared to be their extension and perfection.

However, after full suffrage was won for women and through women's re-

vealing work experiences during the war, opposition to these laws arose.[1] The objection has been not to the theory of protection for workers, but to its exclusive application to women. The protestants explain that these laws do not always protect—that they too often shackle instead. They urge that women have small chance before their profit seeking employers to secure desirable occupation when there are restrictions placed upon what they can offer, while men can give their services on their own terms. Other things being equal, they say, men will always be preferred if these laws prevail, leaving women to earn a scanty living out of the left-over jobs—a part of the luckless mass of underpaid, unskilled and unorganized workers who toil long and hope little.

If society is to be protected against the raids of power-driven machinery, the critics of discriminatory legislative protection say, *all* of the human victims must be guarded—the men as well as the women, the fathers as well as the mothers. All of those who cannot protect themselves whoever they may be must be guarded. In this way only can weaker bargainers, men or women, have an equal opportunity before employers.

Closer inquiry into the sources of this protest reveals the fact that women in the wage-earning classes are most often pressed into industry by the economic defeat of their husbands and fathers, by their illness or death from exposure and overwork, or their inability to bargain for a living wage. Studies of the Federal Children's Bureau, for example, show high correlations between the low earnings of fathers and infant mortality—the number of infant deaths falls sharply as fathers' earnings increase. Furthermore, while we hear much of the strength and pugnacity of trade unions, wage earners in this country are at the very most only 25 per cent organized. That is one in every four. Thus there are many more men than women who are unable to demand human and economic justice before their employers.

This fact is recognized in the minimum wage laws of England and all European countries in that they apply both to men and to women. These laws are designed to protect the low paid wage-earners, their sex being considered beside the main point.

In the matter of health, while women have more illnesses than men, the physical disabilities of working men are enormous. Tuberculosis, because it is peculiarly a disease of industry, may almost be considered a man's disease. Although young women between 15 and 19 years of age are from three-tenths per cent to 60 per cent more tubercular than young men, males from twenty years of age to the end of their lives are all the way from twenty to 300 per cent more tubercular than females. During the twenty-five years from forty-five to seventy three times as many men have tuberculosis as women.

Men victimized by industry in this way are a menace to their families and associates, economically, physiologically, socially. The evils of their position should be attacked directly. To work for protection of the women and children who are affected by the ill health of men seems to be giving disproportionate attention to the symptom, to the neglect of striking at the source of the trouble.

It appears to be true also that while employment in lead-poisoning occupations is much more harmful to mothers and their offspring, than to men, there is sharp danger for the children of

[1] For a large part of this presentation of the controversy the author has drawn upon an article by herself published in the *Survey* for February 15, 1926.

fathers who are so employed, and inguinal hernia is the greatest single frailty of the American male worker.

These facts have commanded attention from those interested in industrial workers; they have made at least more understandable the contention that the welfare of society cannot be promoted by laws for the protection of women alone.

This view has been accepted by many of the special protectionists who have urged, nevertheless, that, since women need protection more than do men and since it is easier to get laws for women, these laws should be enacted as a step in the direction of legally protecting all workers who need it.

Some Workers Adversely Affected by Labor Laws

For the sake of perspective, let us review specifically reasons why some women oppose this theory as unfair to them—as inducing laws which have cost them their jobs. These complainants are not the millions who form the rank and file of women in industry. They are some of the minorities who, through superior skill or opportunity, have found their way to places seldom filled by women, and who therefore find sex-discriminatory laws endangering their economic security.

Women Printers

The women printers in New York state offer an example which has come to be known as a "cause célèbre."

Since newspaper offices fall into the category of factories under the law, the maximum fifty-four hour week for women in factories passed in 1913 and the prohibition against night work applied to women printers. The most conspicuous effect of this application of the law was its repeal in 1921, resulting from the persistent contention of the women it affected that it was pushing them down. They pleaded that they were losing their places on the seniority lists, and that the chances for day work are only one in ten as compared with those for the night (because of the preponderance of morning papers that are printed at night). Exploitation of night workers is impossible, they urged, for by union agreement shifts are shorter and wages higher for the night than for the day. Also it was agreed that life may easily have more attractions when one can work in the cool of the evening and be off duty for rest and recreation during the day.

In November, 1921, after these women had won their case against the law, and again in 1926, the New York Bureau of Women in Industry investigated the printing trades to ascertain the effects of the greater freedom upon women printers. Considerable prejudice against women on the part of union men and foremen was discovered, so that women were not being employed in large numbers. In 1921 no changes in their employment had been made among the sixty-eight women in up-state newspaper offices, but in 1926 the number employed had increased 43 per cent, to ninety-seven in all, and eleven were working at night. The change in New York City was much more immediate. Six months after the withdrawal of the law and in the face of union prejudice, one-half of the thirty-five women proofreaders, linotypists and hand compositors had changed the nature of their employment. In 1926 this number had increased 50 per cent, to fifty-three in all, and twenty-seven instead of seventeen were working at night.

Women on Street Railways

The case of women street car conductors is scarcely less known than that of the printers. In New York state in 1919 the factory law again had

been applied without regard to the peculiarities of the industry, and the astonishing findings were that of the nearly three thousand women employed, the work of but seventeen was such as could be continued under the new law. In other words, 83 per cent of the women had to be entirely prohibited from work or be shifted. An analysis showed that only 4 per cent of these women *could* be shifted to bring them within the law.

The seniority system, by which those longest in the service had their choice of runs, made it impossible for women to qualify if they could not serve their time on the less desirable night runs. (The fact that labor turnover on transit lines is high means, however, that newcomers move up into the senior groups with relative promptness.) Also the requirement that women must do their work during consecutive hours made their continued employment impossible because of the two peaks of heavy travel in the New York City day.

Thus were hundreds of women in transportation service thrown out when the law was enacted; although it must be remembered that the law in this instance merely hastened a shift which was certain to take place upon the return of the men from the war. The women had enjoyed their transportation experience, the fresh air work had increased health and happiness according to authoritative report, and their hours of labor were no longer than those worked by women for years. Furthermore a small number of these women had permanent positions which, as with the printers, the law alone forced them to leave.

Other Groups

Some of the other small groups of women who were hurt by special factory laws were those employed at polishing and grinding processes and in the foundries at core making. The dusts, fumes and gases often present in these occupations were injurious and the mistake was made in some states of eliminating the women instead of the bad air. Now that machines are equipped with exhaust systems, and factories can be ventilated to carry off these dangerous dusts and gases, it is clear that women were forced to pay the needless price of exclusion from occupations that were profitable.

And so there has brewed a conflict between those who have sought protection for the masses of women, with the theory that in the end all workers would be benefited, and the minorities who have suffered therefrom. The case of these minorities has been expanded and championed in recent years by the National Woman's Party in a broader political program for the equal rights of men and women "throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction." Aside from this political combat, a solid contention is that these minorities are important to the progress of women in blazing new trails in industry, and that their gains should in some way be encouraged instead of ignored. Whether such encouragement should bring a shift in the theory of protective legislation is a question which has persisted but which has remained unanswerable because of the paucity of ascertained facts as a basis for appraisal. But now we have new material which makes an answer more nearly possible than ever before.

THE REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU ON THE EFFECT OF SPECIAL LEGISLATION

An important out-post has just been planted in this controversy, and toward the further adjustment of women to industry. This appears in the form of a 500 page report by the Women's

Bureau of the United States Department of Labor on "The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women."[2] Here is the first inclusive attempt to discover first hand the effects of these laws—to see to what extent during this quarter century they have been hitting the mark or falling short of it. It is a masterly effort to drive into the heart of the question and to fetch out the truth whatever it may be. The resulting story deserves to be read by all who are genuinely interested in women's economic problem. It is a mass of orderly material assembled by a new and skilful method which establishes a pattern for further analysis and greater refinement of points.

In taking a fresh and constructive view of this question of special legislation important to women in industry, this new contribution of the Women's Bureau lies in the foreground.

The inquiry was both extensive and intensive so that both general and specific questions could be met. For the wider analysis five manufacturing industries in nine states were included. The boot and shoe, clothing, hosiery and paper box industries were chosen as old and representative centers of women's employment, with women predominating in numbers over men except in boots and shoes where they were nearly equal. The fifth, electrical products including apparatus and supplies, was chosen as a newer and rapidly expanding industry in which already one-third of the employees are women.

The states included in this five-industries survey were also chosen to give a representative picture. Southern states were omitted because of their industrial backwardness. Comparisons of findings between northern and southern states would be specious. Scattered from east to west the nine states included (New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin and California) may all be considered industrial; some have many laws regulating women's work while others have few. Not all states embraced all the industries studied but the scope of the inquiry seems sufficient including as it does 1,661 plants involving a half million men and some 165,000 women.[3]

In addition to this effort to see working women *en masse* and to try to face squarely the charge that laws, for their protection, have hurt certain particular groups of women, the bureau studied directly these groups to weigh the validity of this charge. Specific knowledge on the status of women in newspaper offices was sought, of waitresses in restaurants, of women in mercantile establishments and metal trades, as elevator operators, street car conductors and ticket agents, as pharmacists. The incidence of prohibitive occupations was studied too.

Summary of the Report of the Women's Bureau—Effect of the Limitation of Hours of Work

To summarize adequately in this paper a report of these proportions is impossible. More important for this discussion perhaps is the essence of the report. In the light of ascertained knowledge what showing does special legislation make? "Has the requirement of these standards for women so restricted their employment that their opportunities are limited and they are placed at a disadvantage in competing

[2] *Bulletin No. 65*, 1928.

[3] Since minimum wage laws for women have been blighted by the courts in this country, and because of the difficulty of tracing what effects they have had, these statutes were not considered in this investigation. A careful and enlightening discussion of them has been presented by the Women's Bureau in a separate volume, *Bulletin No. 61*.

with men for the chance to work?" Is this worried question settled at last to the satisfaction of all? What are the lights and shadows in the findings, and where do they fall?

To aid in answering these queries summaries of the report are now cited. The conclusions of the study of the five industries must be quoted almost in full (pages 45–46):

Manufacturing

> As regards the application of hour laws to the women in five important woman-employing industries, this investigation has shown that such legal limitations of women's hours of work have not brought about any degree of substitution of men for women. Two minor isolated cases in hosiery plants, where men had been substituted for women because the women could not work more than nine hours a day, were the sum total of bona fide instances found of decreased employment for women resulting from the enforcement of hour legislation in these five industries. From the many interviews held with employers it was apparent that they engaged women for certain work because they wanted women for that work, and the legal limitation of women's hours did not prevent their doing so. Nor was it the legal limitation of hours that kept women from being promoted to supervisory positions. Very few women supervisors were found in the States where legislation restricted their hours, but there were equally few in the States where legislative standards were so liberal as to be practically nonexistent.
>
> In another group of manufacturing establishments—those employing men longer hours than were permitted for women—a slightly different situation had resulted from the legislation limiting women's hours of work. Here, also, there was no evidence of any decrease in women's employment because they could not work so long as could men, but in a comparatively small number of cases there might be additional jobs open to women if they could work longer hours. These jobs, however, bore no evidence of especially valuable occupational opportunity.
>
> Without the limitations of the hour laws some women undoubtedly would be employed much longer hours, but in most of the establishments operating longer hours for men than were legally permitted for women the women's work was so adjusted that it could be performed during a shorter period, and there was no need of their extended employment. In some cases it was customary to put men on women's work for the overtime hours necessary. This did not involve a replacement of women but was merely an adjustment to prevent their working longer hours. Most significant of all is the fact that more than half the employers who required of men longer hours than were legal for women stated that they would not employ women for such hours even did the law permit it.
>
> On the whole, legislative hour restrictions of women's work play a very minor part in influencing their position and opportunities in manufacturing industries. Employers have very generally accepted the fact that long hours do not make for efficient production. Competition between firms often leads to decreased hours so that a better type of labor may be attracted, and cases even were reported of a reduction in hours to lessen the competition for labor resulting from a legal standard of short hours for women in a neighboring state.
>
> It is not unusual for manufacturing establishments to reduce hours, and such reductions, from whatever cause, commonly are not looked upon as handicaps to employees. In States with 48- or 50-hour laws for women these laws have been the main factors in causing reductions of hours

in woman-employing industries; but they were not by any means the only factors, and many reductions in hours have occurred as part of the normal development of industrial standards without producing any serious upheaval in employment policies.

Not only have there been practically no instances of actual decreases in women's employment as a result of hour legislation, but the general status of their opportunity seems not to have been limited by this type of law. Women were employed as extensively in California as in Indiana, in Massachusetts as in New York. In fact, because in certain States women can not work overtime, the result in some cases has been not a restriction of their employment but increased opportunity for them. This is due to the fact that, in States where women's hours are so limited that they can not work overtime, it is not unusual for establishments to employ additional women when there is extra work or else to carry a larger force of women the year around in order to be prepared for the rush seasons. In States where there is little or no legal regulation of women's hours the establishment may, instead of employing extra women for these rush periods, keep the women already on the rolls for very much longer hours. One of the most important effects of hour legislation on women's opportunities is, therefore, to increase the number of jobs available for them.

Further illustration of the fact that hour laws have not limited women's opportunities in industry was given by the actual experiences of working women who had been employed at the time when some hour legislation went into effect. Not one woman had found that such legislation had handicapped her or limited her opportunity in industry. As a result of the laws, hours had been decreased for the majority of women, but this was the only result experienced generally enough to be significant.

Moreover the laws for women in many cases were discovered to have improved the working conditions of men as well. "Of the forty-two establishments that reported reduction of hours because of the women's hour law, these reductions included men's hours in 34 establishments."

Summary of the Report of the Women's Bureau—Effect of Night-Work Legislation

On the effect of night work regulation the bureau found that:

> . . . On the whole, in most localities and industries night work for either men or women is frowned upon and is decreasing. The majority of employers in industry consider night work to be even more undesirable for women than for men and they would not employ women at night even if the law permitted. But in some establishments women would be employed at night if the law permitted, and in an even smaller number of cases increased numbers of women might be employed in the daytime if they could work at night. To this extent the night-work laws restrict women's opportunity.

The summarized review of the more specific inquiries also comes with point:

Stores

> . . . The problems of adjusting women's hours in stores to the requirements of the law are less numerous and difficult than those in industry chiefly because of the difference in the overtime requirements of the two types of work. In stores overtime is only occasional, for certain definite periods that are well known in advance. At times it is possible to handle certain of the

overtime requirements by rearrangement of schedules, letting off some employees for part of the day so that they may remain on duty later. For other emergencies it is possible to take on extra workers. A very considerable group of stores have so arranged their work that they never need overtime, while others operate so well within the law that some overtime for the women employees is legal. For these reasons hour legislation has not been a factor in limiting women's opportunity in the general run of store positions.

In buying and supervisory positions, also, the status of women generally is not influenced by such legislation, but in a very few cases it is possible that legislation has had a part in closing to women certain of such positions. This occurred in a total of four of the fifty-four stores studied. Even in these cases, however, it was evident that legislation was not the only cause of this condition.

Restaurants

. . . Daily and weekly hour limitations for waitresses have not placed them at a disadvantage in getting employment. The legal standard for waitresses in restaurants is very largely accepted by employers for waiters also.

With the night-work law the situation seems to be somewhat different. In states where there is no night-work law waitresses are employed at night, though the extent of such employment varies with locality and type of restaurant.

The actual value of the opportunity closed to waitresses by night-work laws is more open to question than is the fact that such laws shut women out of a certain number of jobs. On the whole, women usually are not employed in the type of restaurant where employment after 10 o'clock at night would be especially desirable. The restaurant that gives formal service, where the waiters get high tips, that runs special suppers after the theatre, usually is not one that employs women for waiting at table. There is a very general feeling among managers of what might be called first-class restaurants that the public desires men for the type of service expected in such places. . . .

Women were employed more generally in the lunch or tea-room type of establishment, where they give "a homelike touch to the service." These places are rarely open after the 10 o'clock night hour, when the law obliges women to stop work. Nevertheless,

. . . Occasionally the more expensive and exclusive restaurants employ waitresses, and in some of these women might be employed at night if it were not prohibited by law. The indications are, however, that such opportunities would not be very widespread and that the restriction of the night-work law as it applies to waitresses in restaurants is not the main factor that prevents their being employed in the places where "the tips are highest and the work is lightest."

Elevators

. . . Daily and weekly hour limitations and night-work prohibitions have not handicapped women's employment as elevator operators. The average building superintendent does not want to employ women for this work at night, and only in rare cases, even where there is no legal standard, does he require of women operators daily or weekly hours longer than those usually permitted by law.

Laws prohibiting the employment of women on freight elevators and requiring for women operators of passenger elevators one day of rest in every seven and the provision of seats in a very few cases played a

small part in limiting women's employment.

On the whole, however, in this work there are well-defined lines between the types of service required of men and of women operators and between the types of service at which the two sexes excel. It is this fact that determines opportunity for women elevator operators, and not the legislative regulations applying to their work.

Street Cars and Newspaper Offices

Women street car employees and women printers were found to have felt the law restricting hours in about the way which has been outlined above from earlier investigations. "Many other influences," including prejudice on the grounds of unsuitability of the work, were playing upon women's displacement on street cars and subways, but a few women were dislodged directly by the law.

For printers, laws limiting the number of daily and weekly hours that women may work have had little effect, because their usual hours are shorter than, or at least as short as, those stipulated by the law. On the other hand, for some women in the printing trades night-work prohibition has proved to be a handicap.

Pharmacies

Employment in pharmacy is one of the few semiprofessional occupations to which hour and night-work laws for women have been applied. In this case the result has been some handicap to women's employment. Though the evidence collected was neither extensive nor very definite, it indicated that legislation has been one factor in limiting employment opportunities for a few women pharmacists. It is important to recognize, however, that as far as concerns the actual position of women pharmacists the removal of such legislation would have very little effect. At present, public opinion does not place women on a par with a man pharmacist. Neither the employer nor the public feels the same confidence in the woman as in the man. Furthermore, there are certain drawbacks to the employment of women in pharmacy that will serve as a more or less permanent handicap. These drawbacks relate to the physical requirements of the work, such as handling heavy carboys and packages of drugs. . . .

Prohibitory Legislation and Working Opportunities of Women

Prohibitory legislation for women receives adverse judgment by the Women's Bureau:

> The occupations prohibited for women by the laws of one or more states are limited in number. Many of these laws are insignificant in their possible effect on women, but certain of them deserve very careful consideration. The prohibited occupations studied in the course of this investigation are grinding, polishing, and buffing, acetylene and electric welding, taxicab driving, and gas and electric meter reading.

Grinding, Polishing and Buffing

The prohibition of grinding, polishing, and buffing occurs in Ohio and New York.[4] In other states women are successfully employed on these operations, the employers are satisfied with their work, and the women are enthusiastic about both the job and the pay. The laws prohibiting work on such operations originated as safety measures at a time when modern safeguards and improvements of machinery had not been installed. Under present conditions, however, the prohibition of such work—sometimes highly skilled but in many cases purely automatic and often done under excellent con-

[4] In the case of New York, wet grinding may be done under certain conditions.

ditions—seems to be a restriction of women's opportunity. Of course there are many types of these operations that are not suitable and probably can not be made suitable for women. This is not sufficient justification, however, for prohibiting all such employment for women.

Electric and Acetylene Welding

The same thing seems to be true of electric and acetylene welding. Though women acetylene welders are not employed in any great numbers they occasionally are employed with very great success, while some processes of electric welding employ successfully considerable numbers of women on work that is practically automatic and involves almost no hazards.

Taxicab Driving

Until recently, women in Ohio could not be employed as taxicab drivers and yet in New York and California and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania a few women are doing this work with perfect success and satisfaction. In fact, in Pennsylvania one company inaugurated a fleet of cabs driven by women chauffeurs, and it was reported that the women were most satisfactory in every way.

Gas and electric meter reading has employed few women (507 by the 1920 Census) both because it is considered a man's job and because it is a heavy physical strain. After careful inquiry the bureau concludes (page 352) that "undoubtedly no prohibitory law has kept many women from reading meters, but on the other hand, there seems to be no good reason why such a law should exist," as it does in two states.

Ballasted by scores of carefully presented tables and pages of explanation and direct report these summaries of the Federal Bureau's findings leave no doubt that laws restricting the hours of labor of women have had broad beneficial effects. They have reduced the hours of thousands of women, and also of thousands of men, because of the frequent interdependence of the occupations of men and women. In the five woman-employing industries not many cases were reported where women were actually displaced by laws for their protection.

On the other hand, the revolt against these laws by some women in less wonted occupations, on the ground that they are harmful instead of protective, appears now to have solid and authoritative foundation.

Here is a vigorous advance in the economic progress of women in American industry. A possible basis for the abatement of the conflict which has been holding them back. High recognition that special laws while valuable, are not a panacea in increasing their welfare; that errors of inclusiveness may be committed, as with our American tariffs, just as any power for good can become a power for evil in the hands of the ignorant or the designing. Thus wise flexibility in drafting regulations is imperative; blanket procedure is impossible where conditions are complex.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MINORITIES AFFECTED BY SPECIAL LEGISLATION

Have we then arrived in this year 1929 at a position of unanimity among women as to the if, the when and the where special laws should be enacted? We can only venture an answer for time to test. And to do this we turn again to our latest and fullest source of knowledge—the report of the Women's Bureau.

At this point lie the shadows in this document, in the eyes of some of its readers. Shadows cast over the handfuls of women lost in the masses, who suffer impairment of opportunities from these special laws. These women

are largely overlooked by the Women's Bureau and by "protectionists" because of their numerical unimportance. But others see their tottering status as holding back the advance of women behind them, thus giving their lot an importance more or less crucial. One needs to go beneath the surface for an appraisal of this point of view. It is probably rather more philosophical than realistic. It seems to deal with *woman* rather more than with *women*. It is a question of relativities.

Let us be as concrete as is possible in the examination of the nature of these handfuls of women. Some sampling was done in Massachusetts in the course of the investigation of the Women's Bureau, and there among woman-employing factories an estimated 500 more women would have been employed had the law permitted them to work longer hours. Five hundred as compared with some 10,000 employed women—about 5 per cent. Samples were also sought of new occupations which would have been open to women but for the forty-eight hour law. Some dozen occupations were discovered in which groups of from six to one hundred women would have been making their way as operators of mesh-making machines, light lathes and drills, and rubber foot-wear cutting machines, in work on metal parts, comb-tending, wire-testing, textile machine tending, weaving and cutting, knitting surgical appliances and corsets. The displacement in these occupations was estimated at between three and four hundred women. In stores in New York, "a very few cases" among women in supervisory positions were those of dislodgment by the law, as was true also of elevator operators. Perhaps some 10 per cent of New York's night waiters in hotel restaurants would be women were they permitted to work at night. And among ninety-four women pharmacists who were interviewed sixteen had received a setback from the impact of the law.

The widespread existence of these minorities of women would seem therefore to be certain, but we can only estimate their extent. Doubtless they amount to a few thousands among the approximate 3,000,000 women covered by special laws. If 2 per cent of 3,000,000 fell into this group, it would make some 60,000 women whose occupational opportunities are cramped or cut off by laws which may be directly benefiting all the others.

To be sure this seems a small number when one speaks in quantitative terms, although when measured by other values the emphasis appears to shift. It is defensible to think of these openings, denied through the law, as little industrial frontiers for women which must be taken in the course of their advance to full economic enfranchisement. That the few women who take these frontiers must make the way for the many to follow. That this is one way to break prejudice down—the abiding enemy of women.

Women's experience in the metal trades offers a still more concrete example of what is meant. Their entrance into automobile factories has been spectacular, as has been the growth of that industry itself. From under 1,000 ten years before, women operators in 1920 numbered nearly 13,000, an increase of some 1,400 per cent. They jumped from a ratio of one woman to fifteen men to one woman to eight men, the increase for men having been less than 500 per cent. It was ever-potent economic pressure that brought this about. The "labor vacuum" which the war created and the heightened demand for metal products then being turned out in these factories brought women into machine shops handling castings and forgings of steel

and iron. They worked on lathes and milling machines and they welded.

After the return of the men from the war, however, the number of women in automobile factories fell off. In Michigan, where their status was especially examined, the number of women decreased by one-half between 1919 and 1927. But it had increased in automobile-accessories-and-parts factories —from 615 to 2,111, or 250 per cent. Here, in 1927, women formed 45 per cent of the total working force. Only one of the plants examined had reduced the number of women, and this was a steering gears factory where work is heavy.

Thus, if Michigan is representative, it appears that women have suddenly become an integral part of the working forces in metal trades. And yet they are meeting a sea of obstacles in the effort to hold their ground. The Women's Bureau reports (page 220) that

> In no other industry studied was there found such violent prejudice against women's employment because of the mere fact that they were women,

And that

> Managerial policies still are affected by the attitude, at least partly traditional, that only the light and simple jobs in a metal factory are suitable for women.

The president of one large automobile plant "believes that women should remain at home and leave the industrial jobs for men." This was the reason for his replacing women by men when he could do so, and his view was shared by others among his associates. Another view caught from its author was that "the employment of women in a metal shop is bad for the moral tone of the place generally and tends to interfere with efficient production." One plant never employed married women without investigating their need for work "because the president of the firm had definite convictions on the home duties of a wife." And "so strong were the opinions of employers against night employment of women that in one case women's employment during the day was restricted because an employer did not approve of having them on the night shift."

These views were not universal in Michigan metal working plants. Diverse opinions were found even within a single concern where "the head of the firm had one attitude toward the employment of women, the works manager had another, and the employment manager might have still another." Nevertheless, "the general attitude on the part of the managers" was discovered to be "that the only reason for employing women at the present time was the lower labor cost. If a woman had to be paid the same as a man, a man usually would be preferred." This was revealing in the light of Michigan's statute requiring equal pay for equal work for men and women.

We know too little of what wages women receive for their work in the Michigan metal trades; as for the fifty-four hour law it appears that it has given them a shorter day than they would otherwise have had. But here again have some women forfeited possible opportunities for advancement. For example, one manager said he would sometimes like to ask the women to work extra time but he could not do so because of the law; and furthermore his president was one of those who opposed both overtime and night-work for women.

This tiny incident is worth notice in passing, for, like those mentioned above, it could be many times duplicated, and it suggests a more subtle influence of special laws upon women's opportunities at their industrial frontiers. Weighing in the atmosphere of

prejudice against women's being in the metal trades at all was the law which encouraged this prejudice. Picture an actual occasion on which this plant or some other finds itself in critical need of extra labor, with women and not men available. The employment manager would nine times out of ten run the risk of incurring his president's disfavor by being prepared to show that production schedules were thereby met. The women taken on make more money, and perhaps one per cent of them drops into a permanent job better than they had before. In this case one per cent might mean one or one hundred women, but this is the way hundreds in the aggregate, when they have been free to do so, have risen out of their low-paid industrial ruts.

An Illinois paper box plant, in which one-half of the 150 employees were women, offers another instance of the more obscure, prejudicial effects of special laws upon women's opportunities. The employer confessed "that because so many laws were being put through each year, interfering with the employment of women, it was the policy of the plant to 'squeeze in men' wherever possible." But when the investigator discovered that the daily schedule of the plant was well below the maximum ten-hour law for women, she put this employer out of mind as one who was charging at a shadow rather than a real offence.

The implications of this charge, however, were doubtless real. The ten-hour law for women is a much worried fact in Illinois. While advocates of a shorter legal day have not yet won their cause, there is foundation for the fear on the part of employers that it will be won in almost any legislative session. This uncertainty becomes a condition and the basis for forming a policy for excluding women. Here again, then, the practice of enacting laws covering women alone appears to discourage their employment, and thereby fosters the prejudice against them. Whenever men have the greater "potential emergency value" they are likely to be preferred to women. There is of course no single element which limits this value in women, but without a doubt special legislation is one of them. Its incidence is felt more directly among the minorities who number into the tens of thousands.

Protect the Minorities at Women's Industrial Frontiers

And so while the basis for disagreement regarding special laws for women has now become narrowed, there persists one factor which is yet to be dissolved. To the protectionists these minorities of women who are hurt by legal protection have been unimportant. Their loss of opportunities is but the usual sacrifice made for the optimum good. To the anti-protectionists, these minorities are at women's industrial frontiers. They are so valuable to the advance of the majorities that their need for greater freedom from the law must be met.

Here, then, is a question of emphasis the crux of which may be largely a matter of time. Advocates of special legislation have been distressed by the oppression of working women and have striven to relieve it at almost any cost. They were concerned with immediate results, which they have largely attained. The opponents have risen to protest that this cost is too great for the future of women. They ask that present relief securable for women alone be forfeited in order to hasten a more permanent and solid emancipation for women.

Until now, these conflicting theories of procedure have seemed to present an *impasse*. But in the new light shed

by the Women's Bureau a horizon opens ahead. May it not be that instead of conflict these two viewpoints now suggest a sequence of action? For to link present with past a great change emerges. The conditions under which women work today, with hours "not excessive for the majority," as compared with those a score of years past which were intolerable, are a basis for agreeing that women's sharp need for protection has abated.

Moreover, in this country there is little question that the days of widespread, degrading exploitation of labor are behind us. We live in an atmosphere of production and consumption the very nature of which breeds the shorter working day and a less meager standard of life. Workers have fought for these gains and are still fighting. Employers are gathering wider vision in their dealings with employees, in their struggle for markets and for lowering unit costs of production. Real wages, as nearly as they have been measured, have risen some 20 per cent since the war, and the 1930 Census is expected to show well over half of the factory employees working on a basic eight-hour day.[5]

Now if combined forces have lifted the level of working conditions of women to a place where women are no longer severely exploited, and to a plane more favorable to all workers, may it not be desirable to arrest further legislation for them and work with a wider purpose? May not the time now be ripe to seek relief by legislative action for all who still labor at a sub-level—men as well as women? There is no opposition in theory to a move of this nature, except by laggard employers who always fight legal protection of their employees, and some of the less enlightened trade unions. Moreover, we have sufficient precedent framed by our highest courts.

It is impossible to estimate the value which would accrue to the workers in this country if a program such as this were to be seriously drafted. The present trend toward a better work life for all wage earners would take a fresh start, and backward employers would be forced into line. The minorities of women who are now restricted by special laws would gradually be absorbed into their respective groups with opportunities strengthened for equality with men—at least so far as the law is concerned. Labor law would discourage prejudice against women wherever it has fostered it before. Those who are striving for the future of woman would find common cause with those who have made gains for women workers of today. With forces united the progress of women, in the next twenty-five years, would hold promise greater than we dare now to prophesy.

Directly in line with this program appears a letter to the editor of the *London Times* published on February 1, 1929, bearing the signatures of seventeen outstanding Englishwomen, of whom Margaret Bondfield, M.P. is one, who have long been concerned with the lot of women in industry. These women urge attention to the status of women in an amending Factory Bill which they think will result from the impending General Election in the following words:

> . . . Our conclusion on a question of fundamental importance to the great army of industrial women and their families—women's problems necessarily involve the welfare of children—is a simple one. In place of allowing unlimited working hours for women we should like to see their

[5] The reader should be warned against making too optimistic a picture from this swift sketch of the status of workers today as compared with yesterday.

scientific limitation for both sexes; instead of lessening the safeguards for preserving the health of women, we desire the setting up of similar safeguards, where these are not already established, for the health of men. Surely the constructive policy, in this as in other departments of national life, is the right policy, for it is along constructive lines that true progress lies.

A Possible Program for the Advancement of Women in Industry

We appear, then, to have arrived at the crossroads in the legal protection of women in industry. Which way shall be our next turn? One road is toward more and more laws for women; another leads to none—to the abrogation of laws which do not apply alike to men and women. Should the opposing forces prove equally potent we seem doomed to stand still.

But there is still another way. In the long pull women have had to free themselves from the hold of tradition, it is impossible to say how much they have been hindered by special labor laws—although we know they have been hindered. On the other hand, we have the best evidence that we shall have for a long time of good that these laws have done. Moreover, improved working conditions which they encourage have also become a part of the new code of industrial leaders.

Is not our direction, then, clear? Let the present statutes for women remain for the present at least, with some necessary exceptions for the victimized minorities. Drive hard for the extension of these laws to include men as well. Aim as rapidly as possible to wipe out sex discrimination in the labor law by raising the status of all sub-level workers to the level of those better off. Present a program of legislation for men and women workers with solid economic foundation, one which is abreast of the time. Let this program be developed by an informed and industrious commission with the progress of women at heart. Those who think freely agree that our tariffs, in a world of interlocked nations, must have scientific adjustment away from vested interests and in line with present economic needs. Just so does this vexed question of the legal protection of women workers require scientific adjustment. If we sincerely desire to advance the position of women in industry, is not this the road to take?

The Effects of Labor Legislation on Women's Work

By Mary N. Winslow
Director of Special Studies, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor

THERE are two distinct types of legislation applying to women's employment—laws that regulate and laws that prohibit. The regulatory laws are far more important than the prohibitory laws, both in number and in scope. There are also two distinct types of wage-earning women—those to whom labor legislation applies and those to whom it does not apply. The second group of women is about twice as large as the first.

In discussing the effects of labor legislation on women's work, therefore, it is important to emphasize that not all laws are alike and that only a minority of wage-earning women are affected by them.

With these essential qualifications in mind, examination of the individual laws and the various types of occupations to which they apply illustrates clearly the need for careful differentiation as to effects.

It can be accepted in the case of most industrial legislation that the immediate result of a law is the establishment of the stipulated standard or condition. Even here, however, there are certain reservations. Different methods of enforcement and policies of application may make one law very much more effective than another. Also, the condition existing before the enactment of the law is an important qualification of its effect. For instance, in a state where already the majority of establishments are running 48 hours a week, the enactment of a 48-hour law for women would not have so great an effect as in a state where only a few establishments equaled the law's standard before its enactment.

There are also the more or less indirect effects of legislation such as the improvement of community and social standards, and the stimulation or retardation of industry.

Without going into the finer distinctions, however, it can be stated broadly that most laws play a large part in establishing the standards for which they were enacted, that the standards of community welfare are raised by these laws, and that industry is not retarded because practically every legislative standard has, before its adoption, been proved practicable in some industrial establishments.

Effect of Labor Laws on Working Opportunity

Another possible result of industrial legislation might be a limitation of working opportunity for those to whom such legislation applies. In other words, if certain standards are required legally for the employment of women, an employer might seek to evade this standard by dismissing his women employees and substituting men.

An investigation recently made by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has shown that in general this is not the case. Study of the various occupational groups of women whose work is regulated by law has revealed that occasionally certain laws designed for the general run of manufacturing or mercantile occupations have been applied to other types of work. Even more occasionally, such application has resulted in a limitation of women's opportunity. However, the lesson to

be drawn from this is not that legislation is usually a handicap, but that legislation should be specific and should be carefully designed so as not to place restrictions which are incompatible with the requirements of the regulated occupations.

RESTRICTION OF WORKING HOURS IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS

The largest groups of women to whom labor legislation applies are those engaged in the manufacturing industries—those who are at work in factories making clothing, knitting stockings, stitching shoes, making paper boxes and radios and electric fans, and all the myriad other objects which are necessary to us at this stage of our civilization. These women in manufacturing form a very distinct and very important group and it is primarily for their interests that much of our labor legislation has been enacted.

There is no indication that for this large group of women legal restriction of working hours has limited opportunity for employment. On the contrary laws limiting hours of work have shortened hours, and have often led to the employment of larger numbers of women. In States where legal restrictions prevent overtime work for women it is not unusual for establishments to employ additional women when there is extra work or else to carry a larger force of women the year around in order to be prepared for the rush seasons.

One reason for the fact that hour restrictions of women's work have not been a handicap to them is that employers have very generally accepted the fact that long hours are inefficient. The modern manufacturer runs his establishment for short hours as a matter of business and efficiency and not just because the law requires it. So the law is a real restraint only on the laggard employer.

Further illustration of the fact that hour laws have not limited women's opportunities in industry is found in the actual experiences of working women who have been employed at a time when some hour legislation has gone into effect. These women do not report that such legislation handicaps them or limits their opportunities in industry. As a result of the laws, hours are decreased for the majority of women, but this is the only result experienced generally enough to be significant.

Night Work Laws.—The effect of night work laws on the opportunities of women in manufacturing has been somewhat different from that of daily and weekly hour laws. This is natural, for the night-work laws definitely prohibit women's employment during certain hours and it is inevitable that such a prohibition would limit employment to some extent. But the extent is not so great as might be supposed, for the majority of employers in industry consider night work to be even more undesirable for women than for men and they would not employ women at night even if the law permitted. In some establishments, however, women would be employed at night if the law permitted, and in an even smaller number of cases increased numbers of women might be employed in the daytime if they could work at night. To this extent the night-work laws restrict women's opportunity.

EFFECTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION ON WORKING OPPORTUNITIES IN MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS

Women employed in stores form another group to whom much labor legislation applies and whose opportunities have not been restricted by such legislation. Hour laws undoubt-

edly eliminate excessive hours for store employees on Saturdays, but the effect on general daily hours probably is not so marked as in industry, for in custom the prevailing store hours are comparatively short. The problems of adjusting women's hours in stores to the requirements of the law are less important than in industry, chiefly because of the difference in the overtime requirements of the two types of work. A very considerable group of stores have so arranged their work that they never need overtime, while others operate under hours so well within the law that some overtime for the women employees is legal. For these reasons hour legislation has not been a factor in limiting women's opportunity in the general run of store positions. In buying and supervisory occupations also, the status of women generally is not influenced by such legislation, although in a very few cases legislation may play a part in closing to women certain of such positions. Even in these cases, however, legislation is not the only cause of discrimination.

EFFECTS OF REGULATION OF HOURS AND NIGHT WORK ON WOMEN IN OCCUPATIONS OTHER THAN INDUSTRIAL

Outside of the larger groups of manufacturing and mercantile occupations, the effects of labor legislation demand more detailed scrutiny. Different occupations must be considered separately for they present too varied qualifications to permit of the sampling method of investigation which is possible for a more homogeneous group of activities. For instance, the employment of women as waitresses in restaurants is one of the occupations which has been most prominently cited as an illustration of the effects of legislation, and as a field of work for women it certainly presents aspects which differ widely from employment in manufacturing. Nevertheless in spite of this difference the effect of hour legislation on waitresses is not different from the effect on women in manufacturing.

Waitresses.—Daily and weekly hour limitations for waitresses have not placed them at a disadvantage in getting employment, largely because the legal standard for waitresses in restaurants is very generally accepted by employers for waiters too and also because women are preferred for certain kinds of waiting.

With the night-work law the situation seems to be somewhat different. In States where there is no night-work law waitresses are employed at night, though the extent of such employment varies with locality and type of restaurant. The restaurant that gives formal service, where the waiters get high tips, that runs special suppers after the theater, usually is not one that employs waitresses. There is a very general feeling among managers of what might be called first-class restaurants that the public desires men for the type of service expected in such places. In the less elaborate type of restaurant, where there is a combination of counter and table service, waitresses are likely to form a considerable proportion of the persons employed. In such restaurants, however, service during the night hours can hardly be considered especially desirable. The restaurant where the largest group of women are employed, and where they are employed almost exclusively, is the lunch or tea room type of establishment. Women are especially desired here because it is felt that they give a homelike touch to the service and that they are neater and daintier in their work and appearance. Such establishments rarely are open as late as 10 o'clock at night. The extent and importance of the restriction due to

prohibition of night work for waitresses is, therefore, somewhat doubtful.

Elevator Operators.—Among the other occupations which illustrate some of the most important factors that should be considered in estimating the effects of legislation is elevator operating. This is an occupation of minor importance in questions of opportunity and advancement of women, and yet it provides an interesting illustration of the effect of legislation on women's employment in an occupation that only recently has been opened to them and in which they are in direct competition with men. Under such conditions it is especially significant to find that daily and weekly hour limitations and night-work prohibitions have not handicapped women's employment as elevator operators. The average building superintendent does not want to employ women for this work at night, and only in rare cases, even where there is no legal standard, does he require of women operators daily or weekly hours longer than those usually permitted by law.

Street-Car Operators.—The occupations that perhaps have been most prominently cited as examples of the effects of legislation on women's employment are those of street-car conductor, guard, and ticket agent. In the various States several different types of legislative regulation have been applied to such work for women. These include the limitation of daily and weekly hours and the prohibition of work after 10 p. m.

The effects of these laws is by no means clear. It is certain that in some cases their enforcement has been followed by wholesale dismissal of women conductors and ticket agents. On the other hand, many other influences were acting to bring about the dismissal of women street-car conductors, while women ticket agents still are being successfully employed in other localities under conditions better than those required by the laws that appear to have been the cause of women's dismissal.

The entire situation with regard to the effects of legislation on women's employment in transportation is so complicated and subject to so many exceptions that it can not be summarized briefly. Investigation of the many different phases of the subject has shown, however, that the part played by legislation in bringing about the dismissal of women street-car conductors and ticket agents has been by no means so important nor so far-reaching as was indicated by the agitations at the time they occurred, and that whatever the part legislation may have played in connection with women's employment in transportation it can not possibly be interpreted as typical of its effects on any other occupations of women.

Printing and Publishing.—The effect of hour limitations and night-work prohibitions on the employment of women in printing and publishing is another phase of legislative regulation that has aroused much controversy. These women are working in a trade that is highly organized and for which short daily and weekly hours are customary. Therefore, laws limiting the number of daily and weekly hours that women may work have had little effect, because their usual hours are shorter than, or at least as short as, those stipulated by law.

On the other hand, for some women in the printing trades night-work prohibition has proved to be a handicap. If women can not take their turn on the night shifts they can not enter the trade nor use their seniority rights on an equal basis with men, and their employment is made much more difficult. Among the women employed at night

in printing establishments there are some who are highly skilled, well paid, and thoroughly satisfied with their work, and the prohibition of such employment would be, and in a few cases has been, a decided handicap to them.

Pharmacists.—One of the few semi-professional occupations to which hour and night-work laws for women have been applied is that of pharmacist. In this case the result has been some handicap to women's employment, although the total number of women pharmacists is so small as to be almost negligible. However, it is important to recognize that as far as concerns the actual position of women pharmacists the removal of legislative restrictions would have very little effect. The small number of women qualified for pharmacy, prejudice against them, lack of confidence in them, and the physical requirements of the work are the main things that at present are holding women back in this occupation. Legislation has had its effect, but it has been of minor importance.

EFFECTS OF LEGISLATION PROHIBITING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

The effects of the laws prohibiting employment in certain occupations are very different from the effects of the regulatory laws on women's employment opportunities.

Prohibitory laws have really only one effect—the elimination of women from the occupations covered. The importance or significance of this elimination is the one necessary qualification in a measurement of the effect.

The occupations prohibited for women by the laws of one or more States are limited in number. Although many of these laws are insignificant in their possible effect on women, certain of them deserve very careful consideration as they illustrate legislation which is based on a principle entirely different from that underlying the regulatory laws.

Among the most significant of these prohibitory laws are those which forbid women's employment on grinding, polishing, and buffing in Ohio and New York.[1] In other States women are successfully employed on these operations, the employers are satisfied with their work, and the women are enthusiastic about both the job and the pay. The laws prohibiting work on such operations originated as safety measures at a time when modern safeguards and improvements of machinery had not been installed. Under present conditions, however, the prohibition of such work—sometimes highly skilled but in many cases purely automatic and often done under excellent conditions—seems to be a restriction of women's opportunity. Of course there are many types of these operations that are not suitable and probably can not be made suitable for women. This is not sufficient justification, however, for prohibiting all such employment for women.

The same thing seems to be true of electric and acetylene welding. Though women acetylene welders are not employed in any great numbers they occasionally are employed with very great success, while some processes of electric welding employ successfully considerable numbers of women on work that is practically automatic and involves almost no hazards.

Another illustration of a prohibitory law that would eliminate women from work which they seem able to perform with satisfaction and success is the provision of the Ohio law which prohibited the employment of women as taxicab drivers. This law has recently been declared unconstitutional by the

[1] In the case of New York, wet grinding may be done under certain conditions.

state courts, but it affords an excellent example of a law which was not based on the actual requirements of the occupation regulated. For in New York and California and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania some women are doing this work with perfect success and satisfaction. In fact, in a Pennsylvania city one company inaugurated a fleet of cabs driven by women chauffeurs and reports that the women were most satisfactory in every way.

The restrictions of women's employment resulting from these prohibitory laws afford the outstanding examples of discrimination against women resulting from labor legislation.

But these few instances of discrimination should not outweigh the facts which show that, in general, regulatory hour laws do not handicap women engaged in the manufacturing processes of industry. Only when applied to specific occupations not entirely akin to the industrial work for which the laws were drawn, has regulatory legislation been a handicap to women. In such cases it is possible either to adapt the legislation or to exempt the occupation from the operation of the law. It is certainly inaccurate to ascribe to the broader field of industrial processes those discriminations which have arisen in a few special groups.

Labor Legislation for Women and Its Effects on Earnings and Conditions of Labor

By Florence Kelley
General Secretary, National Consumers' League
and
Marguerite Marsh
Research Secretary, National Consumers' League

WHAT precisely is meant by labor legislation for women? Using the term in its broadest sense it is a congeries of statutes adopted wherever power-driven machinery has been introduced in Europe, America, North and South, and Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania, in India and on the Gold Coast, to save wage earners and their families from physical deterioration and to make possible continued efficiency in the productive industries. It is a product of universal industrial experience.

The term covers a wide diversity of legislation which goes back nearly ninety years in England and more than sixty years in New England. In an effort which continues to this day to reduce death, disease, the stunting of very young children by neglect, and to prevent the utter ruin of family life among the industrial workers, labor legislation was introduced in England for women as an experiment in 1842, when Parliament passed a bill prohibiting the employment of women underground in mines.

This was followed in 1844 by a bill restricting the working hours of women in mills to 12 hours in 24. In 1847, the first ten-hours law in history was adopted, effective May, 1848. Labor legislation enabled women to enter and to hold their own in large areas of industry which needed their especial qualities, among these quickness and deftness. It has followed the introduction of power-driven machinery throughout Europe and in state after state in America. The Orient entered this World movement at the International Labor Conference held in Washington in 1919, to which forty nations sent delegates.

Labor legislation for women is, therefore, an early and integral part of the evolution of modern industry which could ill have proceeded without it, not a set of recently introduced arbitrary restrictions upon the freedom of women to work, as has been frequently asserted in this country, especially in connection with the proposed twentieth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In Industry Who Are Women?

But in industry who are women? How rarely has the word been precisely defined! Perhaps the most amazing attempt to define it officially is that of Attorney General Dennis G. Brummitt of North Carolina, interpreting the new child labor law of 1927, for the purpose of enforcement in his state:

> By completing the fourth grade at the age of 14, the minor is placed in the position of one who has attained the age of 16 in so far as hours of labor are concerned. . . .
>
> A child between the ages of 14 and 16 who has completed the fourth grade in school may be employed 60 hours per week, but not between the hours of 7 P.M. and 6 A.M.

The statutory working week for women in North Carolina is 60 hours.

Women mill workers in that state are, consequently, now subjected to the competition of girls 14 years old and upward who leave school at the fourteenth birthday, who are, under this ruling, industrially women, except that they cannot work at night. Their wages are, however, the paltry wages of southern mill children.

Attorney General Brummitt's ruling of 1927 is in force eight years after the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, holding unconstitutional the two federal laws under which girls and boys under 16 years of age, if employed in manufacturing goods for interstate and foreign commerce, were assured everywhere in the United States, among other safeguards, freedom from work at night and also the eight hours day.

By a cruel irony the way for those devastating federal decisions, and the ensuing competition of girls 14 and 15 years old against adults, was paved by a federal district judge of the western district of North Carolina.

On first seeing the phrase "labor legislation for women" a reader naturally assumes that "women" means persons of voting age. This is, however, an injurious generalization. It is a form of confusion costly indeed to tens of thousands of girls between 14 or 16 and 21 years of age who work for wages.

One illustration of this confusion is the bill repeatedly introduced (hitherto unsuccessfully) in the legislature of New York to repeal the waitresses' section of the New York labor law. This statute prohibits the employment of any woman as a waitress in a restaurant after 10:00 P.M., unless it is in a hotel, or in a factory where the employer supplies night lunch on a noncommercial basis. This section of the labor law has been unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

For the attempted repeal of this part of the nightwork law, there have appeared before legislative committees at Albany, counsel for the Associated Industries (the New York branch of the National Association of Manufacturers) and representatives of the Woman's Party. Naturally the arguments presented by them to the legislature assumed that all waitresses are adults, able and ready to guard themselves and all their own interests everywhere and always.

If these arguments had prevailed, there would be, in all the larger cities of the state, automatically deprived of legal safeguards against working all night, a large body of young girls of 16 years and upward, who can at present work legally no longer than 10:00 P.M.

The trade of waitress, like all those which involve tipping, is undesirable at best. Without the law against all-night work, it is utterly unfit for these young employes.

Yet the Manhattan Trade School, of the New York City public school system, which teaches girls 14 to 16 years of age, among other occupations, the elementary practice of the waitress' trade, finds it difficult to hold them six months in school, so urgent is the demand for young girls, of whom great numbers are hired with no preparation whatever.

In twenty-four states young workers, after the sixteenth birthday are treated, so far as prohibition of nightwork goes, as though they were voting adults and could successfully manage their own affairs including such universal needs as those of regular sleep, and of earnings sufficient to supply them with abundant nourishing and attractive food. For this degree of self-direction,

they are in fact far from being equipped. They are beyond the bailiwick of those organizations dealing with child labor which unfortunately accept the sixteenth birthday as a reasonable limit after which boys and girls may be left to fend for themselves. These young competitors having no trade unions, nor votes, nor the judgment of maturity, tend to keep down the earnings of their working mothers and adult sisters as well as of the men in the trade. They themselves, however, profit by every shortening of the working hours of their seniors, including the prohibition of all-night work.

The Woman's party, in its campaign against protective labor legislation for women, has always ignored this large body of young girls whose fate industrially is bound up with that of adult women. If successful in its recurring legislative efforts, the party would incidentally leave them wholly deprived of protection.

All this merely illustrates how much more far reaching the phrase "labor legislation for women" is, in real life, than it appears to be in most of the discussions printed during the last decade, or in the arguments, for and against, presented to committees of legislatures.

LABOR LAWS LIVE OR DIE AT THE WILL OF THE JUDICIARY

Throughout the long period since 1876 the attention of the reading, investigating and legislating public has been, in the field of women's work, almost exclusively centered upon one element of this complicated social development, *i.e.*, the enactment of labor statutes followed or not, as it happened, by provision for official inspection of industries employing women.

The time has come when popular attention must be shifted, in part, from statutes, to a consideration of judicial opinion; from making laws, to the decisions which determine whether or not they are valid when made. To date, far too little scrutiny has been focused, even by the people most directly affected, upon the judicial aspects of labor legislation.

We have not habitually thought of the activity of the judiciary as a permanent, integral part of this never-ending process. Since 1876, literally millions of club women have had practical experience with their legislatures in action. It is doubtful whether in this half century one hundred have been present, in the court room of the United States Supreme Court, during the reading of any decision affecting the lives, the health and well-being, the prosperity, or the industrial future of wage earners.

Labor legislation derives chiefly from two main sources, Congress and the legislatures on the one hand, supplemented by various departments, boards, and commissions empowered to make rulings having the force of law; and the courts, state and federal on the other. Congress and the legislatures have power to enact, to modify, and to repeal labor legislation. For its continuance it depends upon the courts.

The situation has been cogently summed up in the statement that "until it has been passed upon by the United States Supreme Court every labor law, whether it applies to men, women, or children, is a mere trial draft."

Obviously courts do not enact laws. Even the Supreme Court of the United States, could originally only interpret them. After nearly a century and a half, however, it has gradually gathered to itself, following the famous argument of John Marshall, power to veto by declaring it unconstitutional, any statute which comes before it.

Whether a court of last resort,

federal or state, upholds a labor law or vetoes it, the action in either case, is a link in our general legislative system. The negative activity of courts in this country is unique in its extent and its power to delay and to destroy labor legislation, a unique condition of labor.

A labor statute may be intrinsically useful or hurtful but that is not what determines its fate. This depends ultimately upon the collective economic opinion of five justices of the United States Supreme Court, or upon a majority vote of some state court of last resort. Whole trends urgently needed, in law-making fields of utmost importance may thus be diverted for decades by one adverse decision.

It is a sad chapter in the history of the judiciary that important new branches of labor legislation have been held unconstitutional, and delayed for years until some state court of last resort has seen its way to distinguish a later measure embracing the same principle, and thus make progress possible again; or to reverse its original untenable opinion. This latter process occurred in 1907 in the Schweinler New York nightwork case; in 1914, in Connecticut in the early workmen's compensation cases; and in Illinois in 1895 and 1911 in *Ritchie* v. *the People.*

An example of what may follow an adverse decision is the paralysis of the movement in this country for minimum wage commissions which has followed the Sutherland decision promulgated April 9, 1923, in the District of Columbia case. Women had been fully enfranchised and had increased in industry to approximately eight million, when this decision of the United States Supreme Court deprived the states of the power to prevent or to mitigate, by creating minimum wage commissions and boards, the exploitation of the economically most defenceless.

By twenty-nine pages of print agreed to by five justices of whom two were new comers to the Supreme Bench appointed by President Harding[1] within a year, ten indispensably necessary state laws were undermined so that their subsequent annulment became inevitable; and the minimum wage commissions of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and California were crippled.

Chronologically these justices were new, but some of the arguments which they sponsored in the opinion were no newer than those of members of the English Parliament who voted against the first ten-hours law in 1847. The Sutherland decision is to the humblest wage earners among women what Judge Taney's opinion was to the fugitive slaves. By women for decades to come they will be bracketed.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND OPERA TICKETS

The latest labor law declared unconstitutional is that in *Ribnik* v. *McBride,* the opinion on which was written by Justice Sutherland and promulgated May 28, 1928 (again not a unanimous decision); a further illustration of the economic bias which determines these vital issues.

This is an aggravation of the injury inflicted by the District of Columbia minimum wage decision. The same court[2] which in 1923 deprived women wage earners of the meager safeguard of a lowest level of earnings beneath which the meanest employer cannot go, has now removed the interlocking safeguard of licenses and regulated charges previously applied to commercial employment agencies.

This is another example of adverse judicial action changing most injuri-

[1] Justice Sutherland of Utah, appointed September 18, 1922; Justice Butler of Minnesota, December 21, 1922.

[2] With the substitution of Justice Harlan F. Stone for Justice McKenna.

ously an enlightened trend of legislation until the decision can itself be changed. The Supreme Court held that the principle involved in overcharges by private agencies is the same as in the case of opera tickets. Every rate charged must be considered on its individual merits, the question at issue being whether or not it is extortionate. This leaves to the unemployed only recourse to the courts. But unemployed men and women are in no position to go to court, every time they are gouged by a commercial employment agency! They are defenceless because they are unemployed and *must* find work.

This decision tends also to confine future efforts to restoring in forty-eight states and the District of Columbia, free public employment agencies, municipal, county, state and federal, a terribly long and slow process. It precludes wise regulation of fees under licensing. Every industrial community needs both methods.

In truth, important interests of industry as well as labor are here attacked, but women suffer especially severely because, their earnings being less, every increase in the cost of getting a job bears correspondingly more heavily upon them.

EFFECTS OF MINIMUM WAGE DECISION

The annulment of a labor statute for women is never immediately understood by the people most closely concerned. Too many of them are young and too limited in experience. In the District of Columbia minimum wage case, this was especially true because many of the women who had benefited by the law were Negroes employed in the laundry trade who, because they are not admitted to trade unions, need in an unusual degree the safety afforded by this law.

In the states whose statutes were ultimately obliterated in consequence of this precedent, the results have been veiled, disguised, minimized, at least temporarily, by the greatest financial inflation in our history.

In California and Massachusetts the minimum wage laws have never been appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The employers in California do not now fight the law, in spite of the $16 minimum wage, the highest in the world. Unfair competition has been removed and the workers are better satisfied, especially in the fruit and vegetable canning industry. In Massachusetts the statute is not mandatory, and the rates vary from $15.50 a week downward.

Wisconsin having had its original act held unconstitutional, has enacted a different statute under which it seems to be getting approximately the same effects as before.

These three laws serve a clearly useful purpose by keeping the worst paying trades under scrutiny, and letting the world know what their workers earn.

These three surviving statutes are also a perpetual reminder that ten other valuable and socially necessary laws, perished because of the reactionary personal opinions of individual Justices of the Supreme Court. They farther illustrate the long delays involved in an adverse Supreme Court decision. If the District of Columbia minimum wage decision had been instead a bill repealed in Congress, it could be reintroduced following the gradual change of the personnel of Congress where the House is elected every two years, and Senators once in seven. But the Supreme Court is appointed for life and its decisions live on until they are reversed by the court responsible for them.

Furthermore any five justices in this

court of nine can exercise, by a majority of one, negative domination over both the legislative and executive branches of the Government. President Wilson signed the District of Columbia minimum wage bill. In vetoing it the Supreme Court ignored (beside the President) the opinions of their colleagues, Justices Holmes and Sanford with that of Chief Justice Taft. They made void and of no effect the nationally famous efforts of Justice Brandeis for minimum wage legislation continued until his elevation to the Supreme Court in 1916. Although, because of that previous participation, he did not sit in this case, his opinion was not unknown to any of his colleagues.

PUBLIC CRITICISM OF COURTS

One unforeseen effect of the Sutherland decision is the slow, varied alteration for which it has become the occasion, in the relation of the public to the United States Supreme Court and to courts of last resort. There is no more important condition of labor than the makeup of the courts state and federal.

The exemption of judges from criticism had previously conferred upon them and upon their decisions a sanctity unknown to the legislative and executive branches of the Government and no longer endurable here. In 1923, however, immediately upon the publication of this decision the leading law schools and their professional publications recognized its nationwide significance, in this era of miraculous change, for the general social and industrial development. The law journals and reviews criticized the opinion with a freedom and vigor new and unique.

Two years later, in 1925, the New Republic issued a volume entitled *The Supreme Court and Minimum Wage Legislation.* It offered in permanent form seventeen articles chosen with great care among the above mentioned criticisms which had been contributed by writers of authority, and were characterized by a degree of poignancy not to be discovered in adverse comment upon any decision of that court in any previous labor case.

Other influences are effectively at work. In this first decade after the enfranchisement of women, elective courts are open to women as judges, and the reëlection, in 1928, of Judge Florence Allen to the Supreme Court of Ohio is significant. During the five years since 1923 when the decision was promulgated, women have been as never before studying law, acquiring in greatly increased numbers competence not only for future participation in duties and responsibilities of Bench and Bar, but as critics who cannot be ignored. Women are now regularly admitted to the law schools of Chicago, Columbia, Yale, Wisconsin, Richmond and Virginia State, Pennsylvania, and of all important state universities. They are to be admitted to the new Institute of Law Research at Johns Hopkins. It will soon be true that only Harvard, and certain Catholic Universities, and a few of the less important secular endowed ones, continue to exclude women from their law schools.

Within this quarter century candidates for admission to the Bar will, undoubtedly, have to present evidence of acquaintance with the history, development and principles of labor legislation. Nor can it long remain the usage that men are taken directly from practice as attorneys for great corporations and permitted to promulgate within a year a decision annulling a labor law whose validity is a matter of life and health for hundreds of thousands of workers.

No less essential than sharing re-

sponsibilities of the Bench is obtaining an unfailing stream of enlightened, constructive criticism. Penetrating legal criticism is, however, sometimes restrained by fear of possible punishment by the criticized judge, who is in a position which offers strong temptation to punish his critic, if a member of the profession, under the charge of contempt of court. Most threatening of all for courageous critics of the judiciary, and most insidiously repressive, is the attorney's consciousness of the possibility of retribution in the form of adverse decisions in every day legal practice.

EDUCATIONAL EFFECTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION

In spite, however, of judicial setbacks, progress has been made, unevenly, haltingly, nevertheless progress. For example, forty-three states limit by law the number of hours a woman may work. The prescribed limits vary from 8 hours in a day and 48 in a week to 10 hours a day and 70 a week. The number of occupations included varies also, so that the proportion of gainfully employed women safeguarded against overfatigue, is not the same in any two states.

In general, the laws were drafted to establish standards for industries and employments in which the greatest number of women were subject to the strain of excessive hours. So too, minimum wage legislation was introduced to protect workers in the worst paid trades, and prohibition of the employment of women in certain occupations was based on their extrahazardous nature. Of laws and rulings establishing sanitary standards surely there is no need to speak.

Women get by no means the full effect of labor legislation enacted for them. Though unfavorable court decisions may later be reversed or overridden, in the interim they deprive multitudes of that rest and degree of comfort which civilized communities recognize as minimum requisites for the public health and welfare.

In attempting, therefore, to evaluate the "effects of labor legislation for women on earnings and conditions of labor" the whole trend of women's employment must be considered. The unevenness due to statutory inadequacies and judicial reversals makes knowledge of detailed effects practically impossible to obtain, though certain tangible data will be considered later.

One preëminently useful influence of legislation on labor conditions is the spread of enlightenment throughout the community during the campaign for enactment, and the ensuing struggle for enforcement. This beneficent effect is not confined to women but extends to minors and also to men.

The perennial ignorance of industrial conditions even in industrial communities is the bane of the wage earners. It is the mother of the hoary myth of the unmarried working woman who lives at home free of cost to herself, squandering her earnings on fur coats, silk stockings, and Ford cars. It remains unaware of the woman who, however wretched her wage, shares it with aged parents, dependent or disabled members of her family. It credulously swallows whole the fear, voiced first in England in the 'sixties, that women would suffer economically if they could *not* work unlimited hours, because men whose working hours were restricted only by the bargaining power of their unions would fall heir to the jobs of the legislatively hampered women.

Modifying this ignorance, generations of public discussion in England and America have preceded and accompanied the establishment of the shorter

working day, no nightwork, one day's rest in seven, the short week.

Certain subjects are now "facts of public knowledge" and are so recognized by the courts of last resort. A vast mass of these facts showing the ill effects of unrestricted labor has been assembled and presented as briefs beginning in 1907 in connection with the case of *Muller* v. *Oregon*,[3] the first of the series in which the United States Supreme Court upheld as constitutional the ten-hours day for women; the ten-hours day for men and women; the nine-hours day for women; the eight-hours day, and prohibition of nightwork. In every one of these cases it was necessary to prove to justices that an evil existed, and that shortening working hours was an appropriate means of remedying that evil. They were not physicians, or hygienists. Most of them were brought up to the belief that that Government governs best which governs least. Yet when the facts were laid before them they upheld every law on this subject that was presented to them. The series lasted from 1908 to 1925.

Among other results the educational effect of this long effort is reflected in the frequent adoption by progressive and humane employers of standards higher than have been acceptable to state legislatures.

REGULATION OF WOMEN'S HOURS REDUCES UNEMPLOYMENT

Labor legislation for women has exercised a stabilizing influence in seasonal occupations, by regulating the length of day and working week, so distributing among more individuals a share in the total of employment and earnings. This effect is especially valuable as new inventions continuously increase the output of machines tended by fewer workers. Without some restraint on the number of hours, it is apparent that even our present degree of unemployment would be markedly increased.

Regulation of hours has been notably beneficent in recent years because of intensified speeding. It stops inefficient employers from exploiting the labor of women as a substitute for increased efficiency in management. It protects progressive employers from depressing competition of sweaters.

HAVE LABOR LAWS KEPT WOMEN OUT OF INDUSTRY?

From the beginning, in 1842, of the regulation by statute of conditions of labor for women, there have been bitter opponents of its enactment. By these opponents so much has been said concerning its restrictive effects on opportunities for employment that it is refreshing to turn from the field of fancy to that of fact.

A recent study of the United States Women's Bureau[4] contains charts showing state by state, from 1870 to 1920, the rate of increase in the population of men and women over sixteen, and the rate of increase of those gainfully employed in non-agricultural pursuits. In summing up the findings of analyses on which the charts were based, the report says:

> It is apparent, therefore, that only in the Southern States—those east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio or of the Potomac—has there been a general tendency toward a greater increase of men than of women in gainful occupations during the 50 years from 1870 to 1920. In almost all the other states the rate of increase for women gainfully employed has been greater than that for men.

It is significant that in southern

[3] The briefs used in these cases may be obtained from the National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

[4] Bulletin No. 65, *The Effects of Labor Legislation on the Employment Opportunities of Women.*

States labor legislation has had its slowest development. It is precisely where hours have tended to grow shorter that women have entered industry as never before.

In two of the states which have the largest per cent of women working under protective laws, we find a marked difference in their rate of increase as against the rate of increase in the population. Massachusetts which has the longest history of labor legislation, has 55 per cent of its gainfully employed women protected under these laws. In the 50 years their rate of increase was approximately 400 per cent, while the rate of increase of the female population was but 269 per cent.

In Pennsylvania, where 65 per cent of all employed women work under protective laws, the rate of increase of gainfully employed women in the fifty-year period was 530 per cent and the female population rate increased but 267 per cent.

As a further illustration that statutory regulation has not militated against the employment opportunities of women, it is of interest to note that while according to the Census of 1910 there were 203 occupations in which more than 1,000 women were employed, by 1920 the occupations employing women had increased to 232. The increase was largely in the manufacturing and mechanical industries and professional services.

Beside the intangible benefits of the long fight for improved standards, there is also available evidence in a negative form, of the beneficent effects of statutes regulating hours of labor. Again Bulletin No. 65 provides authentic data.

The Women's Bureau has made surveys of hours, wages, and conditions of labor of workers in eighteen states. It has analyzed the scheduled hours[5] of 233,288 women employed in 2,608 plants. The data given in the following paragraphs are extracts from these analyses.

In Alabama, which has no legal restriction on the working hours of girls over 16 years of age and adult women, 40.4 per cent worked 10 hours a day, 9.7 per cent worked more than 10, and 63.2 per cent worked more than 54 hours a week.

Georgia's law prohibiting more than ten hours a day and 60 hours a week, applies only to cotton and woolen factories (incidentally this statute applies to both sexes). In this state 34.1 per cent of the women covered by the survey were working 10 hours a day and 29.8 per cent more than 10, while 68.4 per cent had a working week longer than 54 hours.

These are two of the six states listed as having the largest number of women working 10 or more hours daily and more than 54 hours a week. The other four are South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi and Tennessee. The moral seems plain—where the lowest legal standards obtain, there are to be found the greatest numbers of women working excessive hours.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT KNOW AND WHY?

Of all the conditions of labor none is so universal as fatigue. Against no other evil have so many, such long continued, such varied efforts been directed by so many wage earners both men and women. Nor is there with regard to any other labor condition such world-wide experience of the social and industrial gains due to that unremitting effort.

In our country, however, with forty-eight variations in statutes regulating working conditions, it is not possible to compare the beneficent effects of legislation establishing an 8-hours day and

[5] These schedules were obtained in 1922, 1924 and 1925.

48-hours week, with the influence of statutes which still permit a 10-hours day and a 60-hours week, even these backward regulations applying only to a limited number of occupations. Our failure to keep continuous comprehensive federal statistical records of industrial causes of death and of industrial morbidity, blocks the comparisons so imperatively needed.

Because of our unique lack of these statistics, no one can yet *know* what any year's earnings of the great body of women wage workers are. For neither they, nor their employers, nor the Bureau of the Census can *know* how much time and earnings women have lost by reason of illness. This applies to every state and to the nation.

No one can prove whether tuberculosis was, or was not, diminished among working women when the 12-hours day was abolished for women in Pennsylvania cotton mills; or when work after 6:00 P.M. was abolished for women in Massachusetts; or when the 8-hours day or the 48-hours week for women was introduced in more or less various and incomplete forms in nine states and the District of Columbia.

Nor have we comparable statistics on the morbidity and mortality of mothers and babies, among wage-earning mothers in states with and without protective labor legislation.

Until records are kept permitting the high cost of fatigue to be shown by vital statistics, industrial morbidity, and mortality statistics, only fragmentary evidence can be offered of the effects on the health of women workers of restricted or unrestricted hours of labor.

EARNINGS

Earnings have undoubtedly been indirectly improved by shortening the hours of work of women from unlimited stretches to 12, then 10 a day and 60 a week, and finally to 9 and 54, and 8 and 48. These were the hours beginning with 1848 down to 1914 in England. They were national laws and were enforced.

No official records seem to have been kept specifically to show changes for the better in earnings following upon changes in hours. Only with sickness and accident insurance did the sequence become clear. It is, however, now an accepted part of the industrial history of England that changes for the better did more or less keep step.

In America, also, we lack official figures showing regular connection between reductions in the working day and improved earnings. It is, however, a well recognized phenomenon that long hours and low wages go together and short hours and high wages.

In considering the effect of legislation upon the earnings of women, several facts stand out in sharp relief. The first and most significant is that minimum wage laws came into existence because of shockingly low earnings of women working under an industrial system entirely free of government regulation of wages.

New Zealand, as the direct result of insufficient earnings in the sweated trades adopted, in 1894, the first statute intended to remove the hardships suffered by underpaid workers. It was particularly because women and children were special sufferers from unscrupulous employers that public opinion was strong enough to create the legislation.

In the United States the first minimum wage law was passed by Massachusetts in 1912. The demand for this statute and the eight which followed in other states in 1913, arose out of public horror at the low earnings of women workers as revealed by current

studies, by the Federal Government in 1907–10, followed by similar ones made by states and by private organizations.

The history of minimum wage legislation shows the development so characteristic of labor laws, exploitation of the weakest and most defenseless until conditions become so bad that public control of exploiting employers can no longer be deferred. That such public control is to the advantage of employers with high standards, thus relieved of unfair competition, scarcely needs to be pointed out.

A fact generally overlooked by critics who condemn this legislation as impracticable, is the short actual operation of the oldest American law which has also been the least interfered with. A corollary of this limited period of operation is the relatively small proportion of all the gainfully employed women who have been in the occupations affected by decrees.

Beginning in 1912, minimum wage laws were enacted in fifteen states, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. The District of Columbia and Porto Rico also acquired laws; a total of seventeen communities in which this experiment has been tried.

Immediately upon the passage of these statutes obstructionist tactics delayed their application. Where the statute called for the creation of boards to determine wage rates, the period between the enactment of the act and the date when the first decree became effective, varied from eleven months in the District of Columbia to five years and five months in Arkansas.

Injunctions were issued restraining boards and commissions from enforcing decrees while long legal battles were fought in state courts. These and other factors markedly reduced the number of years during which minimum wage decrees have been effective.

A second complication which makes clear cut comparison of earnings before and after the issuance of decrees practically impossible, is the marked fluctuation in earnings in the war and post war periods. A bulletin of the United States Women's Bureau, recently issued entitled [6] *Minimum Wage Legislation in the United States* contains detailed analyses of wage rates and actual earnings in minimum wage states. In several instances the increase in earnings which followed decrees was so marked and so immediate that its source could not be questioned.

Out of the confusion caused by different types of laws adopted by the various states, and their subsequent fate at the hands of the judiciary, one fact stands clear. Minimum wage legislation, as a means of protecting the public health by assuring women workers earnings sufficient to maintain life and vigor, has never had a real trial in this country. That is to come in the future.

The Sutherland decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1923, and subsequent state ones, for which it established a precedent, are neither final nor fatal. Ultimately they will inevitably be reversed. Lowest levels will again be established beneath which unrestricted competitive industry cannot go.

In the meantime, thousands of women and girls are suffering because of these decisions; and this country remains unique among industrial nations in its inability to protect its economically defenseless wage earners against destitution, even while they are doing work which society needs to have done.

[6] Bulletin No. 61.

MINIMUM WAGE BOARDS AN URGENT NEED TODAY

Unhappily, a large part of the public rests comfortably in the belief that the need for such legislation no longer exists. This is partly a result of the paralysis caused by the adverse decisions; and partly because in certain professional, semiprofessional and skilled occupations women's earnings have risen.

Wage regulation by law having always been intended to establish decent standards for the worst paid workers, it is evident from the scattered data available, that that comfortable belief is fatuous. The need for such regulation is far from ended.

It is a shock to learn that in 1929, certain candy manufacturers in Pennsylvania pay their beginning workers an average of $10.70 a week in a state which permits a 10-hours day and a 54-hours week. In New York City, where the cost of living is high, the investigation [7] made by the Consumers' League of New York in 1928, showed that $12 was the average beginners' wage in the candy industry, and that the great majority of all workers in that highly seasonal occupation are considered "beginners" at the commencement of each new season. This investigation showed, as have all others, that progressive employers, with high standards, constantly faced undercutting of prices by competitors with low standards. As a result of the League's study, ninety-two New York manufacturers have recently agreed to pay not less than a beginning wage of $14 a week, little enough surely in view of current living costs.

Since its establishment in 1918 the United States Women's Bureau has made surveys of wages, hours and other working conditions of women. In 1924 and 1925 surveys were made in four states. One was Mississippi, where factories, laundries and mercantile establishments, located in twenty-five cities and towns, were studied.

In Mississippi, which gives legal sanction to a 10-hours day and a 60-hours week by a law poorly enforced, 204 women who had worked from 54 to 59 weekly hours had a median for their week's earnings of $8.45. In less technical language this means that one half of these women had earned less than $8.45 in a week and one half earned more. Of a group of 747 women who had worked six full days in the week, one half had less than $9.70 to show for their long hours of labor.

Space forbids quotations from all four of the Bureau's most recent studies. However, while the Mississippi study unquestionably showed the lowest median earnings, the figures from the other three states are equally disturbing to the comfortable assumption that, since the war, all is well with women workers. The medians given below are for all female employes in the establishments covered by the surveys, including those who did not work a full week. But as full-time employment is not always within control of the worker, and these figures are for actual earnings, they possess great significance. In Tennessee, in 1925, the median was $11.45; in Delaware, in 1924, $11.60; and in Oklahoma, in 1925, $13.75.

As has been said, three states continue in force their minimum wage commissions. Upon facts gathered through the administration of these statutes and upon whatever studies the United States Women's Bureau is invited by state officials to make, must we depend for knowledge of the earnings of women in the United States!

[7] *Behind the Scenes in Candy Factories*, Consumers' League of New York, 1928, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

It is obvious how sporadic and inadequate such knowledge must be.

If we had had at work since 1923 the minimum wage boards, destroyed by the action of the Supreme Court in that year, we should know for all those states, approximately the lowest levels of the annual earnings of the worst paid workers, in the ill paid trades of women and girls.

For want of these boards, and the potential ones in states where legislative action was precluded by the Sutherland decision, these necessary figures cannot be known year after year on a national scale. Ignorance of facts important to the life of the nation is another by-product of the annulment of sorely needed statutes by the judiciary.

The absence of minimum wage laws, and the downward pressure of competition of the multitude of young girls upon the wage rates of adult women, tend toward widespread subsistence wage rates. These leave no margin for times of unemployment, no savings for sickness and old age. Subsistence wages entail dependence upon the family, or where the family itself is at subsistence level, upon charity, both public and private. These charitable agencies subsidize the underpaid workers and industry is encouraged to shirk paying in full for the labor it thus meanly gets. The charities and the taxpayers have no present way of making the employers pay.

It may be asked why the groups of women who most need minimum wage boards have not agitated for them during the five years since the decision was handed down. It is because these groups include the young, the unorganized, the unskilled, and the uneducated. Their wages have been too small to enable them to pay dues for an effective women's union or to maintain legislative committees to speak for them. They dare not risk losing a job by taking part as individuals in public agitation. It is precisely their defenseless poverty that silences them.

On the other hand women employes have been forced to appear in opposition to a proposed minimum wage bill for fear of losing their jobs. In 1922, in a certain Southern state the legislature was holding a public hearing on a minimum wage bill. The state branch of the Manufacturers' Association engaged a special train, loaded it with employers, foreladies, and women department heads. On their arrival at the capitol the secretary of the Manufacturers' Association handed each one a red badge reading "We do not want our wages fixed by law."

Some friends of the bill knew a number of these women and something of the struggle they had had, and the pitifully small wages they had earned. Armed with that knowledge the friends asked by what curious twist of attitude they could justify appearing as opponents of a measure intended to safeguard other workers from their bitter experience. Two kinds of replies were given, one that the "boss" had told them to come. The other that they had been assured by their superiors that the bill meant their present wages would be lowered to meet the minimum.

Forty years ago, in 1889, the first year of its existence, the Consumers' League of New York City published this statement: "There is no level below which the wages of women cannot be forced down." It was issued by Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, the League's first president. This was true then and is true now. Then it was a phenomenon newly observed. Now it is confirmed and indefinitely prolonged by the Sutherland decision.

OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

Two national organizations which have as an important permanent ele-

ment of their work public opposition to labor laws for women, are the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Woman's Party. The former represents that part of the rulers of industry who do not recognize the evil of industrial fatigue as an obstacle to industrial progress. They oppose the legal 8-hours day, even for children 14 to 16 years of age (see pamphlet by their secretary, Noel Sargent, April, 1928). They became widely known as actively opposed to labor legislation in 1894 and 1895, when they attacked successfully the Illinois 8-hours law for women, the first of its kind in the Western Hemisphere. Their hostile efforts have been continuous, and account, in part, for the fact that the 8-hours day exists, even yet, in only ten states including the District of Columbia as one, and the New York statute of 1927. Illinois has never regained the 8-hours day and women can legally be required to work 70 hours a week. The benefits of labor legislation to health and, therefore, to earnings have obviously been greatly limited by the retarding influence of this 34-years-old organized and abundantly financed opposition.

The Woman's Party's hostility to labor legislation for women, and the incessant misinterpretation which has constituted its publicity, cannot be ignored in any serious attempt to estimate the effects upon earnings and conditions of labor of the statutes now in force.

The English grandmothers of the present party began to voice their objection to "restrictions" about 1865. A history of factory legislation sheds interesting light on the origin of this objection. We quote:[8]

It would seem to have originated in a certain confusion between the social and customary disabilities placed on women's work in the professions followed by the upper and middle classes, and the restraints placed by law on the overwork of women in industry. There really is no parallel between the two classes of restrictions. The limitations of opportunity suffered by women of the professional classes have their roots deep down in class custom and social history, and doubtless were and are a distinct grievance, sometimes more and sometimes less keenly felt, according to the nature of the desired occupation.

This confused thinking persists today both in England and America among a limited circle of the professional class. It is doubtless responsible for some of the curious arguments put forward by the Woman's Party.

In England, where improved conditions brought about by the Factory Acts resulted in the development of strong and virile trade unions among the industrial population, the English authors of this "History" made the following comment concerning the opposition of the feminists:[9]

And it is surely extremely significant that whilst the attack on the regulation of women's labor has been fruitless in better organized industries—that is, in those which can make their wishes felt—it has taken effect precisely in those industries which are unorganized and collectively inarticulate. By the admission of the opposition itself, the women whose trades have been under state control for thirty, forty or fifty years are now so strong, so efficient, and so well organized, that even those who most strongly disapprove of state control do not wish to withdraw it from them. Yet we are told that to those who are still working long hours, in insanitary conditions, state control would mean lowered wages, and perhaps ruin.

An analogous situation is to be found in this country in the firm stand for protective legislation taken by

[8] *A History of Factory Legislation* by B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, 2nd ed. Revised, 1911, p. 183, P. S. King & Son, London.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 193

the National Women's Trade Union League and other strong trade unions of women, which represent the best paid workers in industrial occupations.

At a Congressional hearing, held February 1, 1929, on the proposed constitutional amendment for "Equal Rights for Men and Women" sponsored by the Woman's Party, opposition to its passage was voiced by a number of women's unions. The Young Women's Christian Association and the National Council of Catholic Women, a large proportion of whose members know from personal experience what protective laws mean, expressed strong opposition to the amendment because of its effect on those laws. Mrs. Maud Wood Park of the League of Women Voters was spokesman for fourteen other national organizations who oppose the proposed amendment.

Advocates of the amendment mentioned various individual women opposed to the so-called "inequality" brought about by legislation. There was not, however, a trade union woman among the proponents. The "Equal Rights" amendment would wipe out all labor acts except those applying identically to men and women.

Seventeen states exclude women from work in mines. Neither the mining corporations nor even the National Association of Manufacturers object to this. Does the Woman's Party wish to restore by its amendment such equality as existed in the English mines in 1842?

In view of the malignant criticism which labor legislation for women has survived, and the millions of people to whom it has beneficently applied, and does apply (directly and indirectly), the proposal renewed before each Congress to wipe it all out as an "inequality" is preposterous. It is a surviving phase of the ancient strife between doctrinaire individualism, and the cumulative, always ultimately victorious, teachings of experience.

NOT LESS LABOR LEGISLATION BUT MORE

Fatigue and poverty being two principal conditions of labor, the struggle for safeguarding measures for women has been most active in behalf of working hours, and of instrumentalities for compelling industry to pay an ascertainable part of the cost of living to the economically most depressed wage earners.

The total effects of present labor statutes, especially for women, are meager indeed compared with the wealth and development of the nation and its enlightenment in other respects. Today's urgent human need of statutes adapted to the kaleidoscope of industry is vast, and grows with every new disease of occupation, every new poison, every speeding machine newly adapted to women's work. Every study of effects demonstrates that women in industry need not less labor legislation but vastly more.

The Married Woman and the Part-Time Job

By Lorine Pruette, Ph.D.
Author, *Women and Leisure, A Study of Social Waste*

INCREASED leisure, the development of labor-saving devices, the decline of the patriarchal family and the urbanization of America, the high standard of living, the single wage instead of the family wage for the man of the family, are some of the factors propelling the married woman out of the home into the occupational world. Back of all these factors and more stands the Machine, the Dynamo, which Eugene O'Neill's latest play somewhat hysterically portrays as a potential god of the twentieth century. The Industrial Revolution, which gets the blame for almost everything, plus the rescuing of women from the wage-slavery which the early factories introduced, put a standard of value upon women not far different from that attributed to Napoleon and Martin Luther and various other strong men who have always been able to see woman's first duty so clearly. To women was left the breeding of the race, because scientists and efficiency experts had not stumbled on any better way of getting this done. To them were also left those unskilled tasks which it would not pay to take out of the household and submit to modern methods of mass production. To them were also left the early years of child care, not until recently esteemed as so vital and significant a task.

The de-humanizing of the home proceeded side by side with the de-humanizing of the industrial tasks. The Dynamo reduces his "worshippers" to the lowest common denominator; to serve him they must become as nearly as possible like millions of others, they must standardize their behavior and do things according to the demands of the machine. This is unquestionably one of the reasons why women have been comparatively slow in availing themselves of the most up-to-date devices for eliminating waste motions and for speeding up the household processes; also, why glittering and impressive apparatus often stands idle in the home and women can say with a grain of truth that it is really too much bother to be efficient. As long as women try to secure their major satisfactions and rewards from the house job, it is quite reasonable for them to go on being craftsmen with many idiosyncrasies rather than machine-tenders with a routine; likewise to resist the psychologist and the engineer who are eagerly offering to show these old-fashioned workers how to save three minutes' time on their dishwashing. With too much time already on their hands, with too little dignity remaining to their tasks, these women may well ask the experts: to what end? What price efficiency?

But the women who are putting most of their egoistic drive on a job outside the home are on the other side of the fence. Every trick the manufacturer can develop for making house tasks easier is a boon for them. Married women with jobs offer the greatest market for efficiency appliances. They need the help that the machine can give. And they can pay for it. In an age where the emphasis is on consumption, rather than on conserving, women need wages, want wages, to keep themselves afloat on the tide. On the other hand, the manufacturers need the women as consumers, need

the two-wage family and its demands to keep the factories going, the mills spinning. It is a vicious, or engaging circle, as you like. But as we continue to speed up the process of consumption, as our pleasure philosophy takes deeper hold, as the demand for luxuries, artificially stimulated by advertising, mounts giddily higher, there is no help for it—the women have to go to work. The two-car family, by and large, demands the two-wage family.

But there will be a long time yet before the home, with its ill-assorted tasks and personal immediacies, will not continue to demand special attention from women. Most of this attention, it is true, could be supplied by men, but the mores are against this. Women have inherited the home as their job; there is no evidence that the wage-earning woman will try to evade the job that she accepted at mother's knee. So far as special responsibilities for the children are concerned, not only traditional pressure of a particularly heavy sort but many of a woman's deepest desires urge her to reserve this territory for her own. Thus we hear of the two-job wife and we come to wonder how it was that women were ever called the weaker sex.

The part-time occupation outside the home is the obvious solution to the present difficulty. The present organization of the home, with its inefficient cooking for small numbers, makes it difficult for most women to fit themselves into the rigid workday of the full-time job. While greater efficiency in the house would eliminate some of the difficulty, so long as the woman assumes more responsibility for the children she will need a more flexible workday. The part-time job becomes the solution for the married woman. In many cases it is not exaggerating to call it also her salvation.

Clinical psychology is beginning to observe "the nervous housewife" and the various neurotic trends that appear among the semi-idle, but the therapeutic value of getting jobs for discontented wives has not been sufficiently recognized. This is particularly true for the many cases where sexual maladjustment has developed between the inattentive, hard-working husband and the idle, over-eating wife who fills many hours with erotic daydreams about that perfect lover who shows, alas, little resemblance to the husband.

DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE HOME

The worst thing that can be said for the American home is that it ruins so many of its members. It is a disheartening and disillusioning business to survey the middle-aged married women of the country. They have been permanently damaged as persons by the disintegrating influences of the modern home and family life. Conversely, they contribute to the further disintegration of the institution to which they have given their lives.

It is only the rare woman who can pass without deterioration through many years of uninterrupted domesticity. Occasionally such a woman is found, taking her job of home-maker and wife with the seriousness appropriate to one of the social professions, and making of her home a place of refuge and a center of grace. But in spite of some lip-service to such an ideal, the average American home is notoriously ill-kept, practically negligible as a producing agency, startlingly inefficient as a consuming organization, and seldom worthy of any designation of charm and graciousness.

It is natural that the American housewife should be discontented. She is not doing her job well. In many cases she is not even convinced that it is worth doing well. She has no direct

returns and tangible rewards for good workmanship, worse, she does not have to suffer for her failures. Between her and the world of reality stands the figure of her husband: from him she derives her major satisfactions, to him she attributes the causes of her major discontents. The American husband is the "goat" for his wife's failures. By a process of easy casuistry she is able to find in him the reason for all her inadequacies. Obscure dissatisfactions with herself become projected on him. If she were not "tied down" she feels certain she would do remarkable things. She too might climb the highest mountains or fly above the wildest seas. Meantime it takes her weeks to get around to cleaning out the dresser drawers in the spare room. Some day, she says, she will "begin to lead her own life," meanwhile all the life she will ever have is passing away. Presently she will be a flabby, soft creature of middle-age, with no sustained habits of labor and a triumphant incapacity to think straight about any subject. She will have fed her husband food he should not have eaten and taught her babies, if any, prejudices that will mar their later lives. She will have lost, probably, that discontent that was hers while she still heard echoes from the real world, she will have achieved the complacency of the successful parasite who has learned to idealize her position. Yet all such women will have, a few times in their lives, come to grips with reality and in some desperate struggle, most likely the serious illness of a child, have disported themselves with all the high endeavor of a story-book hero. But the ease of American life has protected them from many desperate urgencies. It is an adage that the worst husbands have the best wives. Perhaps it is unfortunate that most American husbands show a tendency to be good.

At the time of taking the last census there were in the United States 21,319,000 married women. This represented 60 per cent of all the women fifteen years of age or older. Some of these women are earning their own keep. Many of them, probably most of them, are not. Some of these women are contented, but undoubtedly the largest center of discontent in this country is to be found among these inadequately occupied married women.

Not all married women contribute to this picture of wasted human material. Some still follow the comparatively outmodel ideal of the "good wife" and endeavor to fit themselves into their husband's needs in every way. One such woman is making a real creation out of this job, she is learning everything there is to know about it, from the price of food to the difficult details of her husband's profession. There can be no question that she is abundantly occupied, that she finds many satisfactions, that her personality is steadily growing richer and that she is a source of strength to her husband. Schemes for coördination and coöperation in women's activities appear predicated on the idea that wives, when freed from minor household responsibilities, will find their satisfactions in helping their husbands get ahead in their vocations. This implies a subordination of self unfashionable in an age where the emphasis is on self-expression and uncommon among the individualistic American women of today.

A great many wives are not content to help their husbands. Many of course are not able to do anything of direct value to his job. Where the man is on a salary the wife's labors in behalf of his job may result in greater efficiency or ease for him without in any way increasing the family income. Where the man is in business for himself the wife may be of genuine financial

assistance by giving certain hours each day to the conduct of the business. This is the method so common among the small business people of France. It has been suggested that such activities are an important cause of the lack of discontent among French women. No one can observe the cashier-wife in the countless small restaurants and shops without realizing the genuine satisfactions she is deriving from her position of importance. There is no need to advocate a part-time job for such a woman. Along with husband and home she acquires a part-time job.

In the United States about two million married women are gainfully employed. Most of these are probably working full time, but the increasing tendency of married women to work outside the home is also probably related to the increasing variety of part-time opportunities. Economic need or the desire for a higher standard of living is very obvious in the work of married women, but this is not the whole story. That other satisfactions, in addition to the financial, are to be found, is evident from any careless survey of the two groups. Discontent is not an easy thing to measure, but there can be no question that its expression is more common among the married women who stay at home, and have not enough to do, than among the married women who carry two jobs and have perhaps a little too much to do.

MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE CHILD

The process of saving the child from too much mothering has been going on for some time now. The schools are more and more greedily reaching out for the children. Here again women are victims of an inner conflict. They have been brought up in a traditional view that "mother knows best" and that there is some mysterious bond between them and this product of their flesh which gives them a particular capacity for child-caring. It is difficult for them not to feel this, when they have been day by day building up such a vast set of habits around this object of their devotion. As mothers, they know their most unquestioned supremacy, theirs not to be earned but to be *had*, like the divine right of kings. Now along comes the educator and the psychologist, to disturb this pleasant supremacy. Already, although they have not clearly realized this, this divine superiority of the mother *qua* mother has faded into a very dim outline of its former robust self. The combined weight of institutes, pamphlets, books and newspaper articles, is thrown on the side of making parents apologetic. This was easy enough for the men, for they had been apologetic since the first time they looked at that peculiar red creature in the cradle, but the triumph of the schools over the mothers was not so easy. Let us help you, they coaxed; of course no one can take a mother's place, but there are some things we can do better than you. They took the big children, and now even the babies are developing wings to fly away to the nursery school. Always women have been patronizing men, because of their esoteric knowledge of the child, theirs by virtue of physiology, and now they have come to know themselves patronized by young things who teach school or do social work, who claim a special knowledge of the child, without ever having been through the supposedly illuminating process of reproduction, but who have read a book about complexes, which perhaps does just as well.

No sensitive, intelligent mother can read the clinical records of child study and the later histories of the maladjusted, without growing apologetic. She would give gladly the years of her life to making the tree grow straight

and fair, but there are so many things which she can all unconsciously do to distort the young growth. So many terrible things, some of which she must inevitably do. The basis of most neuroses is in the family life; sometimes the closer and more devoted the family relations the worse the results appear. It is no wonder that the mother, shaken out of her old complacency, goes with troubled mien to all sorts of specialists, asking what she shall do with her child. They will not hesitate to tell her, and perhaps they do know better than she. But none of them know very much, not even those who think the conditioned reflex the explanation of all things.

Whether or not other agencies can do a better job than the mother, only the experiments of the present and the future will determine. It seems entirely probable that they can, but this is not yet proven. However, there are still long hours for the child in the home, long enough to lay the basis for bad adjustments in all the rest of the child's life. The unhealthy mother will handicap if not prevent her child's chances for mental health. Every discontented housewife is a menace to the mental hygiene of the child. It is no longer the sins of the parents that are visited upon the children, but the fears of the parents. Mother love has even been alluded to as smother love, as it is not difficult to see why.

One leading specialist has already declared that children have a better chance for mental health when they are not too closely associated with their mothers. Studies of professional women indicate that the woman who works does not have the proverbial difficulty in keeping a maid. It is probable that the same reasons which make the maids happier will make the children healthier. Between the active, ably functioning mother with strong outside interests and the ordinary, ignorant, self-pitying home body there can be no question of choice. Even the neglectful mother is less of a danger than the once exalted slaving type, who makes of the home a nest in which she strives to keep the children always immature and helpless. Children of working mothers are beginning to add their own testimony, that they like for mother to go away for part of the day. The child's delightful pride in an achieving father has always been recognized as a potent force in shaping his own behavior. A modern age demands that the child shall not have his heart wrung by the picture of his mother as a frustrated creature to be pitied rather than admired.

THE HOME

Home and family life have varied with the ages, striving to meet the needs of the family members. Let us not be distressed over the disappearance of the patriarchal family, with its heavy toll on women. The increasing urbanization and industrialization of life requires a new home. Less than a hundred years ago the husband was the unquestioned head of the family; modern aspirations are toward a democracy. Unfortunately, this often becomes an autocracy, with the youngest child functioning as tyrant, but the ideal is of a freely functioning group in which each member has both representation and responsibility. Where the mother sits at home, sometimes sick with her own futility although she would not acknowledge this, getting almost all her satisfactions from the close personal relations, every other member of the family is under a certain compulsion and burden because of her emotional demands. The mother must have outside interests, genuine interests, preferably impersonal, if she is not to cling too fiercely to the other

members of the family. She must find some place where she acts as a person rather than a mother, or there will be no freedom possible to the home.

The new home, if it is to meet our changing needs, must be a place of refuge. All day long we live in a world of conflict, complications and shock. There must be some quiet place where we can be at ease, off guard. The new home needs to be, what the old home never was, a place of privacy. The city, with its compactness, its sights and sounds, its mobs, invades our privacy. A man did not need such privacy in his home when, in the day's work, he could walk to the edge of a field and seem to be alone upon the rim of the universe. But today we need some sheltered place of retirement, no matter how bare a cell, where we can lock the door and know ourselves as individuals and as entities. All day this crowded existence is destroying our identity, breaking down our personality. The new home must be the place where we can recreate our personality, bring the disassembled units back into harmony. And creation is a solitary undertaking.

The new home must offer solitude and quiet and privacy. It must be a place of trust and of few, very few demands. If it is the safe refuge where we can go about this recreating of our personality, this building up of the identity damaged by the onslaught of a thousand antagonistic elements of the day, it does not matter who does the cooking or where the laundry is done. The new home can be a vitally significant element in society, with all its vocational aspects gone, with the women as well as the men finding the major occupation outside. It is time to stress the avocational, and healing, aspects of the home and to let the vocational duties go where they can best be done. The old, materialistic conception of the home must give way to one in which the value rests in spiritual assets rather than creature comforts.

THE ECONOMIC RISK OF THE MARRIED WOMAN

Not only does part-time employment of the married woman offer the opportunity for the development of a new home life, it lessens or destroys the appalling economic risk taken by every woman who today marries and devotes herself to the traditional rôle of wife. There is no security in domesticity. It is heart-breaking to see the middle-aged woman, trained for nothing except the duties of the home, venture out into the industrial world. Divorce, death or loss of money may put her in this position, where she has so little to offer organized industry and so much to suffer. The married woman who lets herself go upon the easy tide of domesticity is offering herself as a victim in a future tragedy.

If she does not encounter economic difficulties in middle years, she has certainly the possibility of bitter psychological troubles. A recent article by an economist favoring the two-earner family system, expresses this danger vividly.

> It is one of the bitterest of American tragedies, from the point of view of women, that the wife who "slaved and saved" in the earlier years of marriage, without means or leisure to look well, cultivate her mind and take care of herself personally, reaches middle life and sometimes riches despoiled of capacity to enjoy them, and only too often also despoiled of her husband's emotional interest. She is a crippled veteran of the one-earner system, from the modern woman's point of view.
>
> An equal amount of "slaving" as an economic earner would have produced enough income in early years to provide comfort, even luxury, and would have kept up her personal standards and would have stimu-

lated her interests. It appears to be the truth that the competent woman economic earner keeps up high personal standards.

The couple who begin a married career on a well-adjusted basis of mutual consideration and operate a two-earner standard find themselves skipping many of the difficulties of early married life. . . .

One does not wish to be too much a Cassandra prophesying woe, but that phase "crippled veteran of the one-earner system" becomes even more graphic than in its context, when it is applied to the army of women, with desperation in their faces, who are today making the rounds of industry, offering their graying hair and clumsy hands, and hearing the repeated chant, "too old, too old."

THE PART-TIME JOB

But one does not walk down the main street and say carelessly, "I will be a part-time worker here or here or here." Industry no longer demands the full waking life of its employees, but it still operates on the presumption that the job shall be the first thing in the worker's life. The sixteen-hour slavery is gone, the twelve-hour slavery is going. It is possible that, if this pleasure period of prosperity continues, the eight-hour day will sometime be regarded very much as we now regard the twelve-hour day. Utopianists may look forward to a time when all men and all women, and probably most children, will be employed on set tasks for a few hours of the day, while the remainder of the time is free for individual activities according to choice. But today industry still assumes that the worker will put the demands of the job first. As the business world is one of the chief strongholds of sentimentality and tradition it is not surprising to find the part-time worker objected to on this basis of attitude alone. The business man is very like the housekeeper who prefers for servant the old-fashioned slavey, on duty at all hours, to the modern self-respecting servant who does her tasks within certain hours and goes about her own business during the rest of the time. Thus the woman seeking part-time work has this unreasoned attitude to combat. But women have been combatting unreasoned attitudes in industry for a long time now. There is a "cultural lag" about an attitude or a sentiment which causes it to survive long after the actual ways of doing things have been changed. Already there is some indication that this is taking place and that there is really more part-time work available than the business executive is likely to admit even to himself.

The department store is particularly capable of being adapted to the need of part-time workers. There are definite peaks of activity at which extra workers may be concentrated. Salesgirls, wrappers and cashiers may work from 10.30 until 4, while such hours of work allow the woman time for her morning and evening duties in the home. Four years ago six department stores in New York were interrogated on the subject of part-time work for women. Only two were willing to say that they found this desirable. Now, it is not unusual to find advertisements in New York papers calling for part-time workers in the stores. Tea rooms, with their peak at the noon hour, also can make use of extra workers on a part-time basis. It would seem that transportation lines, also having definite peaks of activity, would offer the same opportunities but certain legal provisions and an attitude against employing women lessen the opportunity here. It seems, however, reasonable to suppose that all occupations which have definite peaks of business will find it desirable to employ large numbers for shorter hours and only a small force

for the complete period, applying to the day the system already in use for seasonal occupations.

Those occupations permitting the use of two shifts at shorter working hours offer opportunity for the woman to concentrate her employment in the morning or afternoon. Office work is well-adapted to such shifts and the development of the stagger system in large cities with a transportation problem will accustom employers to an office personnel that comes on and off at different hours. Factory work, particularly where the payment is on a piece-rate, offers few difficulties save those growing out of the traditional attitude of requiring the worker's full attendance. In many cities, teaching in the public school offers the way out for the married woman as the hours are shorter, at least theoretically, and as often the woman may concentrate her work in the morning or afternoon session. Feeling against the employment of married women in the public school system is the major obstacle here.

EMPLOYMENT FOR MARRIED WOMEN

Obviously, work which can be done more or less independently is the easiest to adjust to requirements of the married woman. Typing, sewing, preparation of gift cards, painted lamp shades and the like offer the advantages of a fixed return to be determined by the amount of time invested. Similarly, the wives of the faculty are often employed in colleges to read the class papers and examinations, payment being by the hour or a lump sum for the year. In such cases wives may keep in closer touch with their husbands' work or they may go into entirely different departments. Women have made more spectacular successes at face-to-face selling of books, bonds, real estate, insurance, etc., within the hours left free from home duties. The increasing stream of automobiles has caused a crop of small stands to spring up along the highways, in which women are selling farm products, vegetables and fruit, or making coffee and sandwiches, all within sight of their front door. The same motorizing of the country has put the women of the home into a new business, letting rooms to overnight tourists. This is one of the few cases in which the actual set-up of the home may be utilized for financial return, and the business done in this somewhat haphazard fashion has become so great as to cause concern among the ranks of the licensed innkeepers who find their trade going to these humbler competitors.

The professions and the arts have always given women certain advantages through their more flexible hours. However, intellectual and aesthetic pursuits tend to spill over into all the waking hours of the worker, so that the married woman may not be troubled so much by lack of time to attend to home responsibilities as by an attitude which makes such responsibilities a definite irritation. Women have found it possible to make a home and to follow literature, painting or music as a vocation; the problem of the woman lawyer or doctor seems at present more difficult although not necessarily insoluble for the married woman.

The married woman who wants a part-time job does not find her situation too easy. The success of the part-time bureau in New York suggests the desirability of such agencies in other cities. Other employment agencies are sometimes helpful in securing such work, particularly college bureaus, but the major initiative is still upon the woman to seek out or to create the job that best fits into her needs. Many women have put this over; doubtless many more will do so in the future.

The line of genuine development appears to be, not in daydreaming about some far-off glamorous job which the woman hopes to achieve some day when impossible circumstances conspire to permit it, but in diligently and with intelligence "cultivating one's own garden." The obvious, simple and unostentatious job to be found in the neighborhood is often scorned, but it may frequently be the first step in a vocational development that will lead to a satisfactory combination of home and job.

Recent figures from New York and from Colorado suggest that the 1930 Census may show a great increase in the work of married women. In some places married women may be found employed in equally great numbers as single women. As married women are drawn into the occupational world the American home will unquestionably change many of its outward aspects. Sentimentalists may cry out at this, but there is really nothing to get agitated over. The home, as our fathers knew it, has already ceased to be, without imperilling, so far as can be observed, the love of men and women or the devoted care of children. It is not the home our fathers knew which has so damaged the moral fiber of the women who make homes today. The damage comes from the modern product which is neither fish nor fowl. The home today is in a half-way stage, and so are the home-makers.

Three possible lines open out before the modern woman, the job without home responsibilities, the home without outside responsibilities, and a combination of the two. The home-maker may fill an honored position and make a distinguished contribution to our social life; this is equally true of the woman who spends all her energies in establishing herself professionally, but the pioneers among women today are those who are putting both jobs across. Often enough it is the silent, even humble worker on a part-time job who is being the trail-blazer for other women, reëstablishing women as persons and developing new folkways for the group which will enable women of the future to be both women and individuals in their own right.

TWO AGENCIES FOR PART-TIME WORKERS

Because of their unique approach and definite attempt to deal with some of the problems discussed here, it seems desirable to look at the reports of the two bureaus organized especially to deal with part-time employment for women. The New York Bureau was established in January, 1922, with the purpose of securing permanent positions for trained women who desired to work part time. It was felt that many women with valuable ability and experience would by such an arrangement be enabled to contribute to society through their occupation as well as to carry on their home duties. The Bureau thus began to function in two ways, in the lessening of social waste through the loss of the efforts of these women and in the increase in personal satisfactions and opportunities. In November of the same year a second bureau was organized in Philadelphia. In both cases Miss Eleanor Adler was responsible for the idea and the organization. The two bureaus have now a record of more than 13,000 part-time jobs filled.

Although a minimum charge is made the applicants, neither bureau is self-supporting. The income derived from fees covers somewhat more than one-half the expenses, the remainder of which is made up by contributions from those interested in furthering such an experiment.

The number of persons who come to

these bureaus indicates the genuine need for such an organization. In New York, there were in 1928 more than two thousand new registrations of women hoping to secure part-time work. In 1927, in Philadelphia, the number of new registrations was 665. The reasons given for the Philadelphia group, in an average of five years' reports, showed the highest percentage to consist of women with household duties which left them free for a part-time occupation. The next highest group gave leisure as the reason for their seeking a part-time job. The others consisted of students, workers already having one part-time job and wanting another and a small number whose health put them among the part-timers. Sixty-one per cent of the total were women with household duties or with leisure allowing a part-time occupation. In New York, in 1928, the reasons given for seeking part-time work showed practically the same percentage giving household duties, a smaller percentage of women with leisure, a higher percentage of students, similar ratio of those giving health as reason for part-time employment as well as similar percentage of those engaged in other part-time jobs. The New York Bureau figures for the past year are given in detail, with percentages for the groups.

REASONS FOR PART-TIME WORK

Bureau of Part-Time Work, New York Office, 1928

Household, married	783	40%
Household, single	172	
Leisure	202	8%
Health	102	4%
Study, arts	171	31%
Study, other	548	
Other part-time job	165	15%
Part-time profession	187	
Total	2,330	100%

Many of these women who were looking for a chance to do more work than they had been doing were highly educated. The students from the public and private high schools made up the largest group, closely followed by the women who have had college or more than college training. About a hundred and fifty had had postgraduate training.

These women, mostly high school or college trained, came looking for the chance to ally themselves more closely with the occupational world. The largest single group consisted of married women with household duties which occupied them only part of the day. Studying their records for the past years the Bureau has found many cases in which the married women they have placed have remained in the same employment for periods of time up to two or three years and it has not found the employers objecting to the fact that their part-time employees are married. This suggests that there may be less prejudice against the married woman in the part-time job, because the employer can feel that she is still performing in her free time the traditional duties of her sex.

During the year 1928 employers calls in the New York office indicated the availability of 2,400 jobs, 1,741 of which were temporary and 659 permanent. The women who got their chance through the Bureau were 1,608. The jobs that they filled during the year totalled 2,169, the major proportion being temporary. More openings were found in the office field than in any other, although sales work also showed itself to be adapted to part-time workers. Positions which were listed with the Bureau are given below, together with the number of applicants registered for such jobs. With all the magnificent work of the Bureau of Part-Time Work it is clear that only a beginning has been made in the problem of offering outlet to capable women

whose enforced partial leisure is evidence of the carelessness of our civilization in allowing such social wastage to continue.

SURVEY OF PART-TIME WORK IN NEW YORK CITY

The Bureau of Women in Industry under the direction of Nelle Swartz has recently presented a survey of opportunities for part-time employment in New York City.[1] The survey includes material from a number of employment bureaus and college placement bureaus as well as information secured from 118 firms employing 7,500 women on part-time jobs.

The bureaus (excepting the college bureaus) report 28 types of work for part-time applicants, of which 16 classifications cover most of the jobs. The college bureaus find the following 10 types most common: stenography, typing, clerical work, care of children, tutoring, selling, addressing envelopes, cashiering, waiting on table, class room teaching. The 16 types reported by the other bureaus as most common are listed below, with customary earnings.

Care of children—50 cents–60 cents an hour and carfare.
Secretarial work (social)—$1.50–$2 an hour; $20 a week of 24 hours.
Stenography—$15 a week of 24 hours.
Typing—$2.50–$3.50 a 1,000 addresses.
Bookkeeping—$15 a week of 24 hours.
Selling—$16 a week, hours 11 A.M.–6 P.M., with 20-minute lunch, to $10 a week, hours 12–3 P.M.
Cashiering—$8–$12 a week of 24 hours.
Housekeeping—$10 a week of 24 hours, $85–$125 a month for mornings only.
Waiting on table—75 cents an hour.
Personal maid service—$2 a half day and carfare.
Domestic work—$10 a week and carfare, hours 8–12 M., 6 days a week; $10–$12 a week and carfare, hours 2 P.M.–8 P.M., 6 days a week.
Housecleaning—50 cents an hour.
Laundering, hand—50 cents an hour.
Infant nursing, temporary—$5 a day, 24 hours.
Professional nursing—$1.50–$3 an hour for bedside treatments.
Beauty parlor work—$2.50–$15 a day, $5 usual.

The firms studied by the Bureau included 38 stores employing more than 4,200 women on part-time work (about 3,200 in 16 department stores, 10 specialty shops employing 600, and 400 in 12 variety stores): 20 restaurants with 1,400 women on part-time work, 10 office buildings with about 875, and 50 theatres with about the same number.

The stores investigated had 15 per cent of their women employees on part time, while the restaurants had 26 per cent on part time. In many of the larger restaurants it was found that one-quarter to one-half the workers are employed only during the rush hours at lunch and dinner. One store has half its women employees on part time. The largest number of part-time store employees are saleswomen who make from $12 to $14 for a week of 32 to 34 hours. Other part-time jobs include wrapper, checker, cashier, section manager, stock girl and marker. The section managers are the highest paid, receiving $5 for a full Saturday and $18 for six days part-time. The waitresses, counter girls and bus girls are the second largest group of part-time workers in the stores. Practically all these work six days a week, with hours and pay varying. Most work from 25 to 3 hours a week and earn from $7 to $10, plus tips. The kitchen workers have the same hours and make from $10 to $12. Cooks sometimes go as high as $30 a week.

In the restaurants the waitresses receive from $3 to $8 for a week of 16 to 28 hours (plus tips and one or more meals each day). The kitchen workers have the same hours but higher rates,

[1] The Industrial Bulletin, January and February issues, 1929.

Classification of Applicants	Registered	Classification of Positions	
		Permanent	Temporary
Office Work:			
Bookkeepers	79	16	8
Cashiers	80	33	25
Clerical workers	65	16	286
File clerks	5	3	5
Stenographers	362	92	546
Bookkeepers	35	3	6
Foreign	17	0	1
Medical	2	3	5
Legal	0	0	3
Secretaries	206	49	61
Switchboard operators	44	12	10
Typists	203	38	369
	1,098	265	1,325
Educational Work:			
Teachers	36	8	1
Arts and crafts	9	1	0
Physical education	29	4	0
Occupation therapy	2	0	0
Tutors	13	2	2
Kindergarten	9	0	0
	98	15	3
Medical Service:			
Physicians	4	0	0
Office assistants	76	26	23
Clinic assistants	1	2	2
Technicians	18	5	1
Nurses:			
Trained	40	4	9
Practical	19	5	20
	158	42	55
Social Service:			
Social Service workers	45	3	5
Recreation workers	14	6	3
	59	9	8
Home Economics:			
Home economics—general	9	1	0
Cafeteria managers	9	0	0
Cafeteria workers	85	50	47
Hostesses	13	6	5
Dietitians	3	1	0
Housekeepers	2	0	1
	121	58	53

$10 to $12 a week. The ushers in restaurants usually work 3 to 4 hours a day, receiving $10 to $12 a week. The counter girls have the same number of hours and receive $8 to $10.

In the office buildings, the cleaning

Classification of Applicants	Registered	Classification of Positions	
		Permanent	Temporary
Home Service:			
Shoppers	1	0	1
Governesses	49	10	22
Nursery governesses	29	5	9
Foreign governesses	34	5	2
Child nurses	44	18	18
Companions	13	11	10
Social secretaries	12	3	18
Seamstresses	24	6	49
Assistant in beauty shop	0	0	1
Home assistants	4	1	13
	210	59	143
Other Professional Work:			
Editors	15	1	0
Executives	18	0	0
Architects	1	0	0
Interior decorators	1	0	0
Librarians	8	1	5
Personnel workers	3	0	0
Psychologists	14	0	0
Pharmacists	1	0	0
Proof readers	2	0	1
Publicity workers	22	0	[illegible]
Real estate sales women	1	0	1
Research workers	29	0	7
Translators	1	0	1
Dramatics	13	0	1
Art	3	1	6
Music	12	1	1
	144	4	29
Miscellaneous:			
Art gallery attendant	0	1	1
Field secretary	0	1	1
Model	0	0	1
Night matron	0	2	1
Sales	207	42	48
Ushers	0	1	2
Untrained young	178		
Untrained mature	57		
	442	47	54
Totals	2,330	499	1,670

women get $10 to $13 for a week of 30 hours, the supervisors receiving $14 to $20.

In the theatres part-time employment is found among the ushers, cleaning women, matrons, cashiers, ticket-sellers and occasionally wardrobe women and nurses. In the legitimate theatre the ushers work six nights and two matinées. In the movies the work is for six afternoons and evenings. The pay is from $7 to $12 a week, with head

ushers receiving $10 to $20. The cleaning women work 18 to 24 hours a week for $10 to $15. Head cleaning women sometimes receive as much as $35 a week.

The conclusions of the study are that part-time work is particularly suited to married women, and that in stores and restaurants such workers are usually married. It is held that married women make the most satisfactory part-time workers.

Mothers in Industry

By Gwendolyn Hughes Berry, Ph.D
Director, Bureau of Statistics and Registration, The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York City

THE job of being a mother in a workingman's family can be divided into at least three distinct phases: physical, psychological, and economic. The first of these three functions, childbearing, may occupy a relatively short period of a woman's life, or it may extend to middle age, depending on the number and frequency of births, and on her age at marriage. Child training and education, the psychological aspect of motherhood, continue practically from the birth of her first child through the adolescence of the youngest.

The economic responsibility of the wife in this social group begins at marriage and continues as long as the home exists. This phase of her activity consists of managing the household, spending the money income of the family and contributing a share toward her own support and that of her children through production in the home.

Each of these three functions of motherhood are constantly undergoing changes in response to the currents of social and economic movements. The tendency toward smaller families and improved obstetrical technique are reducing the physical burden of motherhood. The greater emphasis on child health, education, and child psychology in comparatively recent years is increasing the number of agencies outside the home assisting the mother in meeting her responsibility for child culture. At the same time, these same agencies may be increasing the work of the mother somewhat by imposing higher standards upon her.

The Changes Under Which Women Must Make Their Economic Contribution

The most marked and continuous changes, however, are probably to be found in the field of economics. The mother's economic function in the home is encroached upon whenever a labor-saving device is adopted and whenever a factory product is substituted for a homemade article. The mother's contribution as a producer is reduced, while the demand of the family for a money income to buy the new commodity is correspondingly augmented.[1]

In the years preceding the introduction of the factory system the home was the workshop in which most of the commodities consumed by the family were made. In rural communities practically everything the family ate or wore could be produced by the labor of its members. The mother, with the assistance of her daughters, carried on all the processes of spinning and weaving as well as tailoring. She cured meat, preserved fruits, churned butter, baked bread, manufactured soap and candles, to mention but a few of the manufacturing processes for which she was responsible. Mother and children were thus able to contribute services which had a very definite economic value in family support. The husband's labor alone was not expected to pro-

[1] See Hughes, Gwendolyn S., *Mothers in Industry*, New York, 1925, for citation of references. See especially Rathbone, Eleanor, *The Disinherited Family*, London, 1924.

vide for all the needs of the family. Apparently no question was raised in those days as to the propriety of the mother's economic function.

With the growth of towns and the development of the factory system, however, production by women and children in the home has been greatly reduced. The husband's contribution to family support, meantime, has changed from commodities ready for immediate consumption to money wages. Whether the money income earned by the father is less or greater than his former contribution in kind is not known. The fact remains that while he did not support the family alone during the period of household production, it is tacitly assumed by those who question the employment of mothers that his money wage should today support both him and his family.

Although the decrease in home manufacture can best be illustrated by the contrast before and after the so-called industrial revolution, it must be remembered that the process still continues. As her duties in the home are cut down the mother's economic function is becoming specialized outside of the home. The change in the married woman's activities from undifferentiated, jack-of-all-trades production in the home to a standardized job in the workshop is apparently going on rapidly. In 1920, according to the *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, the actual number of married women employed was almost four times the number employed in 1890, while the number of single, widowed and divorced workers only doubled during the same period. The employment of married women has thus increased about twice as much during the last three decades as that of all other women.[2]

The struggle to live on the husband's wage alone, in most industrial families, is a failure. A canvas of nearly 12,000 families in six industrial sections of Philadelphia in 1918 showed that the majority, 55 per cent, relied on income from other wage earners or from lodgers. Only 6 per cent of this entire group was of the conventional statistical type, husband, wife and three children under sixteen years of age, supported by the husband alone.[3]

Families not supported by the father alone, as a rule, turn first to the wages of children (18.6 per cent), next to the wages of the wife (17.7 per cent) and third to income from lodgers (15.9 per cent). This canvass of almost 12,000 homes showed that in only 7.5 per cent of the total number was more than one of these sources of supplementary income utilized.

Wage-earning mothers are only specializing in one of the three chief functions which their job has always implied in the less fortunate economic groups. If they are to meet this responsibility to their families today they are practically forced to go out and earn money because they cannot make up the deficit by pinching and scraping at home. Housework now has become largely service, manufacturing has passed into the factory.

If the mother does not follow her job into the factory and bring in her share of the income in that way, or en-

---

[2] See Ogburn, William F., "Decline of the American Family," *New York Times*, Section 5, February 17, 1929. The following statistics are presented to show the decline in the economic function of the home. While the population gained less than 15 per cent, the output of bakeries increased 60 per cent; employees in food factories, 37 per cent; product of food factories, about 100 per cent; work done in laundries, 57 per cent. These figures cover the period from 1914 to 1925.

[3] Kingsbury, Susan M., "Relation of Women to Industry," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 141–158. See especially the first two tables.

gage in some home industry, such as taking in lodgers, she throws a large part of her economic responsibility upon her husband. He thus becomes responsible for his own support as well as for the support of another adult and the children. But calling a man's wage a family wage cannot make it so.

WHY MARRIED WOMEN WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

"Why did you go back to work after you were married?" was one of the questions put to a group of 728 working mothers in Philadelphia. "My husband wasn't making enough," answered the largest group (29 per cent); "My husband was dead," came next (22 per cent); followed by "My husband was sick" (14 per cent); "He left me" (13 per cent); "He wouldn't support me" (11 per cent); and "I'd rather work" (11 per cent).

These answers show clearly the measure of success which has met the husband's attempts at supporting his family. The great majority of these wives, under varying degrees of economic pressure, undertook the partial or entire support of their families while the husband was living.

Widowhood.—The proportion going to work because of widowhood is amazingly low, less than one in four, even though 45 per cent of the husbands died under thirty-five years of age.

The widow turned to industry immediately, three-fourths reporting they had done so in less than six months after the husband's death. Some of them lived with relatives for a short time. On the whole, however, when the chief wage earner dies, the industrial family is thrown upon its own resources at once.

The self-reliance of these women is illustrated by the fact that of the total number who were widows at the time interviewed, only one in six had applied for a pension under the Mothers' Assistance Fund Law of Pennsylvania. Of those who had applied, in turn, only one in four was receiving a pension. Working mothers are not applicants for relief, either public or private.

Desertion.—When this group of 728 women began to work, almost one husband in four had given up any attempt at supporting his home. Apparently the problem had assumed proportions which were entirely beyond his capacity, so he stopped trying. The deserting husbands had evidently made their resignations permanent. The non-supporting husband was of little more help to the family, his presence only adding to the wife's responsibilities. Most of these husbands are described by their wives as "no good." The usual explanation is drink, varied by combination with gambling, infidelity, and laziness.

If it is true that the family is becoming more and more dependent upon the money wages of the husband and father, while the contribution possible from the mother and children is becoming correspondingly less, may not this relatively high proportion of desertion and non-support be the instinctive answer of the less competent man? If the burden thus thrown upon the husband is insupportable, these are the marginal providers, the first ones to shirk their responsibility. It is impossible to do more than speculate on this point without accurate data on the prevalence of desertion and non-support over a long period of time.

Illness of the Chief Wage Earner.—The next group of women to be considered after those with irresponsible husbands, are the 101 who began to work because of the illness of the chief wage earner. By the time these mothers were interviewed, 70 had become widows. When a wife goes to work

because her husband is sick, the chances are that it is a very serious illness.

Emergencies in Family Life.—Widowhood, desertion, non-support and illness, the situations discussed so far, are definite and unmistakable. The remaining 40 per cent of the wage-earning mothers returned to industry while the husband was well and working, and they represent a wider variation in economic need, ranging from those who could not count on their husbands for bare necessities, to the women who felt no compulsion to work.

Those who said they worked because the "husband wasn't making enough" fall into two classes: first, those who find the husband's wage inadequate only when an emergency arises and, second, those who are forced to work to meet even the ordinary running expenses of the household.

Among the emergencies which sent mothers to work while their husbands were working were dependent relatives coming to live with the family, or the purchase of new furniture. Sickness of members other than the husband, however, is the emergency arising most frequently.

Insufficient Income of Husband.—The other women in this low income group can never make ends meet on what the husband makes. When the wife says that "times are hard," or that her husband "is not earning much," it is impossible to judge where the trouble lies. It may be that her standard of "much" is too high, or that her husband is not being paid enough, or that he is not worth any more than he is getting. A day laborer of forty, with three children under nine years of age, a dependent father and a weekly wage of $22 cannot, perhaps, be said to be underpaid by industry, but his situation certainly raises the question of the proper basis of family support.

This low income group includes also a few husbands who, according to their wives, "never did steady work." The usual comment of the visitor on such cases is "works, but spends money on drink."

Prefer to Work Outside the Home.—The women who answered "I'd rather work" when asked why they became wage earners excite an interest out of proportion to their number. These 79 women were eager to emphasize the point that they were not forced to work out, they chose to do so. Their reasons include (a) a chance to earn extra money to spend as they pleased, (b) an opportunity for wider and more stimulating contacts as well as a means of raising the standard of living, (c) as a means of filling in time not occupied by housework and (d) "to help husband."

Those who work "to help husband" are principally concerned about buying a home or putting money in the bank. The women who expressed this joint sense of responsibility were largely foreign-born. They came, for the most part, from southeastern European countries where industrialization is not so advanced as here. They have been accustomed to a social and economic order in which the family is still the unit of production as well as of consumption.

These 79 women did not rush into industry in order to evade their responsibilities at home. Rather, they worked that they might make what they regarded as a greater contribution to family life. The woman who goes into industry under these circumstances, however, is relatively rare. It is estimated that on the basis of the survey of 12,000 homes and this intensive study of 728 mothers, in the most highly industrialized sections of Philadelphia, only between 1 and 2 per cent of mothers with children under sixteen

years of age, and with working husbands, go into industry from choice.

In reviewing the reasons given by these 728 mothers for going back to work after marriage, it is apparent that in their experience at least, wage earning is intimately connected with the responsibility the husband is able and willing to assume. The husband, in turn, is limited by (a) a wage scale that does not permit adequate family support; (b) by premature death with nothing laid by for the future of his family; (c) prolonged ill health of a serious nature; (d) an undeveloped sense of responsibility which points to mental or emotional instability under an excessive economic burden. In addition, (e) the wife's experience in industry as a girl, and her preference for such employment instead of housework, was the deciding factor for one woman in every nine visited.

HOW THE WORKING MOTHER MANAGES HER HOME

A deficit in the family income which the husband cannot meet is clearly indicated in the experiences of the mothers just considered. The explanation of such a deficit can readily be found in changes in our system of production which have deprived the family of a large part of the mother's economic contribution in the home. Cutting off the mother's opportunity for family support at home throws an undue burden upon the husband. Wage earning outside the home is undoubtedly a woman's most remunerative way of sharing responsibility for family support with her husband.

What happens to a mother's home duties when she undertakes to help her husband earn the money income of the family? Who carries on the rest of her economic function, home management and housework? What substitutes is she able to provide for her services at home? The further experiences of 728 mothers in Philadelphia industries will at least partially answer these questions.

The wage-earning mother does not necessarily give up her position as home maker when she enters industry. Five principal expedients have been used by these 728 mothers in combining home making and industrial employment: first, they limit their work-a-day responsibilities through part-time employment in industry; second, they practically eliminate their housekeeping duties by boarding with another family; third, they secure assistance from outside the household; fourth, they transfer their housekeeping duties to relatives who share their homes; fifth, they call upon other members of the immediate family, husband or children, to coöperate with them in doing the housework. Only one in 25 (a total of 30 mothers) attempted to work all day and manage the household alone.

Housekeeping Substitute.—Boarding with another family, or having a relative live in the home, assures the mother a full housekeeping substitute. These two plans, together, have solved the difficulties of over one-fourth of the 728 mothers (27.5 per cent). When the mother boards she almost always lives with relatives, and frequently pays less than the full cost of maintenance of herself and children. The boarding family is usually the broken family (24.4 per cent of all deserted women board and 9.3 per cent of the married women). As a rule boarding preceded wage earning in point of time.

Part-Time Employment.—Part-time service in industry permits the mother to be her own housekeeper (25.5 per cent), as a rule, with but little or no assistance. The mother who works only part time has been able to make her adjustment at the expense of indus-

try. When the working day or week is shortened, however, wages are correspondingly curtailed. Women whose husbands are at work report part-time employment almost twice (38.2 per cent) as frequently as widows and deserted women (21.4 per cent) who are the chief wage earners in their homes. Part-time arrangements are most frequent among women in domestic and personal service. The free time afforded by this plan enables the mother to manage her home with a fair degree of success.

Housekeeping, for women who work away all day, entails a heavy burden upon the woman who has no one to take her place in the home. A large number of these 728 mothers (30.3 per cent) arrange for assistance from some outside source, either having someone come in or taking the children to a neighbor's or a day nursery. In about two-thirds of these cases, outside help is reported with housework and laundry and one-third with child care. About half of these mothers have some assistance from within the household as well.

Relatives or Neighbors.— Relatives or neighbors come in for a time each day to put the house in order and prepare the meals, especially the children's lunch at noon. They usually live nearby and are able to combine these duties with their own housework. They seldom occupy the position of servants in the mother's household. In some instances, a lodger is paid to mind the children and do the housework. The part-time service of the neighbor or lodger leaves the mother enough of her wages to make earning worth while, and relieves her of a great deal of work. At the same time the woman who renders the service, frequently a mother, is able to earn a money income without going far from home.

The mothers who earn the highest wages report the largest expenditures for services in the home, a circumstance that suggests they would all employ substitutes more extensively if they could afford to. Working mothers, on the contrary, do not make much use of the free assistance available from child-caring agencies, preferring the services of relatives and neighbors. Very few mothers patronized commercial laundries.

Other Members of the Family.—Older children, and once in a while the husband, are the only sources of help the mother has in the rest of these families (16.7 per cent). The assistance from members of the family is less clearly defined than when it comes from some source outside of the home. In fact, one in four of this group of mothers said she did all the housework herself. Here it is quite clear that the additional burden of wage earning is borne very largely by the wife herself. One working mother in six, thus, has not been able to secure a substitute or has not considered it necessary to do so.

A full-time substitute probably is not necessary to carry on the housework in many of these homes. If the working mother had to hire that much help there would be little or nothing left of her wages. If the part-time attention to the housework that she is able to secure from outside sources or from members of the household is inadequate, the result will be evident in a neglected home. On the other hand, if she attempts to make up the difference herself by extra work at night and over week-ends, she runs the risk of endangering her own health.

Indications are that the houses of these working mothers are as well taken care of as those of their neighbors. Housekeeping in these homes, of course, must be interpreted in terms of their surroundings. Only a small

proportion (6 per cent) of the mothers working all day and keeping house volunteered the opinion that their inability to keep the house in order was one of the undesirable results of wage earning. Since a poorly kept house can be detected immediately, it is probably safe to accept their judgment. Five in every six of the homes were classified as clean by the visitor.

Complaints about their lot and the hardship of being both a wage earner and housekeeper were conspicuously absent among these 728 working mothers. The life of a working woman is hard, according to one of them, but "it is possible if you trust in the Lord." "Women," said another in justification of work outside the home, "get awfully tired of housework and scrubbing all day." Still another remarked that she "would die" if she had to stay at home all day as some women do.

The combined effect of wage earning, housekeeping and worry over family finances does impose a heavy burden on these women without a doubt. Judging from the reports they made about their health, however, they seem to be standing the strain fairly well. Within the previous year, 44 per cent reported an illness serious enough to cause loss of time from work. A survey made by the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission in one of these neighborhoods represented by working mothers a few months later showed that among housewives 63 per cent had been ill during the past year. Sicknesses associated with overwork, undernutrition and worry were prominent (25 per cent) among those reported by the working mothers: colds, rheumatism, headaches, nerves and rundown conditions.

EFFECT OF WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME ON FAMILY LIFE

Can the woman who works outside of her home to discharge her economic obligation to the family, successfully carry on the other aspects of her job as mother? What of child life in these homes? Always, in considering the working wife as mother, it must be remembered that the standards of motherhood in the economic and social levels she occupies may be far below those generally accepted. Her shortcomings in this respect can be viewed more tolerantly when it is recalled that "running the streets" is frequently regarded as sufficient recreational outlet for the children in her neighborhood, that meal time and bed time are variable, that general standards of discipline, health and education leave much to be desired.

The experience of these 728 mothers is far from conclusive as to the relation of wage earning to successful maternity. The medical data furnished are relatively meagre and unsupported by clinic records. Furthermore, no comparable body of facts relating to mothers who are not, and never have been so employed outside the home, are available as a control group. The most serious obstacle is the great difficulty of isolating wage earning as a factor. Employment of mothers is so closely associated with economic insufficiency that it cannot well be considered apart from poverty.

One of the most serious indictments brought against wage earning by married women is that it reduces the birth rate. The facts gathered from the canvass of 12,000 Philadelphia homes, already mentioned, suggest that women who work have smaller families because they could not work if they had more children. Almost one-third of the married women without children were gainfully employed, but this proportion decreases steadily as the family grows in size, leaving less than one in six gainfully employed where there

were five children or more.[4] The lower birth rate may thus be the cause rather than the result of wage earning by mothers.

Another point to be borne in mind in defense of the working mother: she does not work when her children are in their infancy. Of a total of 1,817 living children reported by these 728 working mothers, only 30 were under one year of age.

The most outstanding evidence of the relation of wage earning to the quality of maternity lies in the proportion of prenatal deaths reported before and after the woman resumed gainful employment. Of all the pregnancies occurring before the women went to work, 8 per cent are said to have resulted in a prenatal death. Of the total number of pregnancies reported after wage earning was resumed, 17 per cent were reported to have terminated as miscarriages or stillbirths. Is this difference due to wage earning? How much of it can be explained by the mother's more vivid recollection of recent events?

The known facts surrounding the child deaths in these families do not suggest any relation with the industrial employment of the mother.

Complete physical examinations of these children in comparison with similar returns for an equal number of children in the same neighborhoods whose mothers do not work would give a fairly accurate indication of the relation between employment of mothers and child health. All that is known of the health of these 1,817 living children is what the mother observed and reported to the visitor. According to these admittedly incomplete data, only 8 per cent were either ill or suffering from health defect on the day of the visit. It is likely that only the more obvious and serious defects were mentioned. When it is considered that many of these children would not have enough to eat if the mother did not earn, it may betray a slightly prejudiced point of view to look for a relation between employment and poor health.

When the mother is away from home all or part of the working day she must make some provision for the care of the children. She cannot save up this responsibility and meet it all at once in the evening or over the week-end. Two-thirds of the 300 and more children under five years of age are looked after by an adult who lives in the home. The other hundred cases are divided fairly equally among neighbors who run in, day nurseries, and neighbors who take the children into their own homes. For the group from five to ten, the proportion cared for by relatives at home has decreased somewhat, and almost one child in six is left without oversight, except by older children, after school hours. Almost half of the children from ten to fifteen years of age have no adult supervision outside of schools hours. The child care problem in the home of the mother who goes out to earn, therefore, is not primarily one of infancy, but of late childhood and early adolescence. These mothers evidently believe that when a child is old enough to dress himself, to avoid being run over in the street, and to get his own lunch, he is fully capable of taking care of himself outside of school hours.

Only one mother admitted that she kept a child home from school because she was at work during the day. This

[4] Matthews, William H., *When Fathers Drop Out*, New York, 1924, p. 18. A total of 470 children was reported by 115 widows under care by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor from 1914 to 1923. This average, over four children per mother, indicates that the mother of a small family can be self-supporting but when her family is larger she must appeal to charity when disaster overtakes her.

practice may, however, be far more prevalent, since over 6 per cent of the children of compulsory school age were not attending and apparently not enrolled in any school. Moreover, assuming that the "normal" child enters the first grade at six or seven and passes through one grade each year, 41 per cent of the 845 elementary school children were behind grade, compared with 25 per cent for all children in the elementary grades of all Philadelphia public schools in October, 1919. The employment of mothers appears to call for a sacrifice of the educational advantages of her child in many instances. Whether this situation is peculiar to working mothers, or is a part of the social background in which she lives, only further study can show.

Sometimes a mother complains, too, that her children do not "mind" as well as they used to before she began to work. Out of nearly 400 women who were able to analyze their situations enough to state what they considered the effect of wage earning on their homes and families, more than one in ten made this statement. Again it is impossible to say that wage earning by mothers is the sole cause. In many of these families employment was itself the result of a more radical change in family life, such as the death or desertion of the father or the breaking up of the home. It is probable that the absence of the father from the home is the explanation of insubordination on the part of many children, especially boys. Furthermore, children are older now than when their mothers entered industry, another reason why they may seem to the mother not to "mind" as well as they did before she worked

Wage earning by the mother of a family undoubtedly puts an additional burden on every member of the family, including even the younger children. They are forced to assume a greater responsibility for their own well-being than children in more prosperous homes. As they become able to help with the housework, they are pressed into service whenever possible. While their neighbors are playing in the streets, these children are helping at home. They seem to be initiated into household duty by way of marketing, then by preparing their own lunches at noon and eventually by taking a hand in all the work of the household except sewing and washing. These household duties, unless too heavy, need not be a hardship to the child. He learns more or less regular habits in this way and is forced to cultivate a certain sense of responsibility and self-reliance. The complaint is frequently heard that in the city the child of today is being robbed of his rightful heritage because he is given no work to do with his hands and is therefore more susceptible to the influence of the gang, the movies, and what not.

In attempting to evaluate the working mother's success in carrying out her function of child rearing, we are dealing with intangible values which are very difficult to measure. All that can be said is that the mother apparently does her best to fulfill her duty to her children in this respect. It is very seldom, practically never, that one of these mothers has broken up her family and "put away" any of her children. Their training and general oversight she turns over largely to relatives who live with her or to the children themselves as they get older. The testimony of the mother, which has been the only source of evidence considered here, must be supplemented from other sources, the school, the church, the community house, the court, to name but a few, before the full story of the price paid by childhood for the comforts and necessities purchased by the mother's earnings can be told.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Changes in the economic function of the family are becoming increasingly evident every year. The mother, as principal adult in the home, suffers, or enjoys, the greatest loss of responsibility as her traditional duties are taken away from her by the more efficient factory and machine. Meantime, someone has to earn money to buy the factory product.

The wage-earning mother is thus forced into industry. The husband's wage is not a family wage: husband and wife are now jointly responsible for earning the money income of the family. If she does not work, many a family cannot be self-supporting. The exclusion of the mother from industry is not the solution of such a family's problem.

When the mother follows her job into industry she does not forget her other economic responsibilities to her family. The mother in industry is also a home maker. This combination of wage-earning and housekeeping is made possible either through part-time work, through boarding, through sharing her home with relatives or through the assistance of neighbors, other members of the family, social agencies.

Childbearing and rearing, the other two principal functions of motherhood, may, in some instances, be sacrificed when the mother goes into industry to keep the family adequately housed and fed. Further study of this question is necessary before it will be safe to venture an opinion on this point. At the present time, however, there is no evidence to warrant interference with the activities of the working mother. In considering the relation of wage earning to child and family welfare, one must keep in mind all the time the standard of living customary in the social groups represented. These women are a part of the wage-earning population in the industrial sections of a large city. Their ways are the ways of their neighbors. Unfavorable conditions found in their homes, therefore, cannot be charged exclusively to wage earning.

Reformers who are concerned about social legislation in behalf of working mothers will do well to ponder the circumstances which send her into industry. These friends of the working mother may, to advantage, ask themselves if they can turn back the tide of economic evolution and restore production to the home. Can they keep women, accustomed to industrial employment ever since leaving school, from liking the factory better, in many instances, than housework? Is it possible, on the other hand, to bring about a general acceptance of the fact that the husband's wage is not a family wage, that there is no necessary connection between the number of dependents a man has and what he is worth to his employer in wages? In short, can these friends of the working mother visualize a new basis of family support?

Married College Women in Business and the Professions

By Chase Going Woodhouse

Director, Institute of Women's Professional Relations, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.

THERE is no limit either to the volume or the vigor of the discussion on the work of married women, work always implying a position with a pay check and having no reference whatsoever to work in the sense of physical exertion carried on in a seemly fashion within the four walls of the home. But facts on the subject are scarce. Of the married woman in industry, however, rather more is known than of her sister in business and the professions.[1]

Data on the latter group are to be found in very few studies.[2]

For this reason it seems worth while to analyze the experiences of some five hundred college graduates who for various reasons have been "gainfully employed outside of their homes" after marriage. Why do they work? What do they do? How much do they earn? Do they have children?

There are a myriad of such questions to be answered, and this group of college women have patiently filled in schedules, replied to letters and spent hours with the interviewer in going over the situation and in discussing their experiences and their philosophies.

The Basic Data of This Study

The group of women represented in this study was unselected. The Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women of the American Association of University Women conducted in 1926–27 a survey of the occupations of the members of the Association. The data were gathered by means of schedules distributed by the local branch chairmen. Among the 6,535 usable replies returned to the Committee, 768 were from members who had worked at some time after marriage. This was a sufficiently large group to encourage the Committee to continue its investigation and to seek further information from these women. The present study deals with 568 married college alumnae who were engaged in some business or profession in 1926–27, all but 37 of whom were members of the American Association of University Women.[3]

The married college women coöperating in the study represent more or less of a cross section of the college alumnae of the country. They are not an espe-

[1] See U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Married Women in Industry," by Mary N. Winslow, Bulletin No. 38, Washington, 1924; "Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities," Bulletin No. 41, Washington, 1925; "Facts about Working Women," Bulletin No. 46, Washington, 1925, gives data from the census and from Bureau studies in regard to the occupations of women and includes special tables on married women. See also Gwendolyn Hughes, *Mothers in Industry*, New York, 1925.

[2] Virginia MacMakin Collier, *Marriage and Careers*, New York, 1926; Anne Byrd Kennon, "College Wives Who Work," *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, Vol. XX, June, 1927, p. 100; Clara Eliot, "Married Barnard Alumnae," Bulletin of the Associate Alumnae, Vol. XVIII, December, 1928, p. 6.

[3] The American Association of University Women has given all the material collected by its Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women in its 1927 survey to the Institute of Women's Professional Relations. The Institute will continue the analysis of the data and publish the findings. It wishes to make acknowledgment to the branches of the A. A. U. W., through whose efforts the material on which the present study is based was collected.

cially successful group, but are probably average in the type of occupation chosen and in their general situation. They were living, at the time the reports were made, in the District of Columbia and in 39 states, extending from Florida to Washington and from California to Maine, and covering all sections of the country.

The data were collected chiefly by correspondence, but wherever possible the women were visited, 52 detailed interviews being obtained. In most of these cases the husbands were seen also, but no attempt has been made to compile a statistical analysis of their replies, since their number was small in relation to the whole group of wives reporting. Since not all of the women coöperating in this study furnished information on every question discussed, it will be noticed that the tables given below are not all based upon the same number of replies. The number reporting on each point is always noted and where comparisons are made a common base is used.

WHY COLLEGE WOMEN WORK AFTER MARRIAGE

Perhaps the question most often asked is, Why do women in the college graduate group work after marriage? What is it that has caused them to break with the accepted custom of remaining at home, busying themselves with their households, and spending such spare time as they have in community activities? Are they chiefly women who do not want home responsibilities or children?

The women coöperating in this study were asked to list their reasons for working in order of importance. Some listed one reason only, others listed several. Table II presents the reasons given as first and second in importance by 198 women with children, and 134

TABLE I—NUMBER OF MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN REPORTING SPECIFIED REASONS FOR WORKING OUTSIDE OF THEIR HOMES

Reason Given	Number of Women Giving Reason			
	First Reason		Second Reason	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Financial	144	42.9	77	46.1
Demand for service	35	10.4	7	4.1
Comparison with housework	11	3.2	13	7.7
Contract to fulfill	7	2.0	0	.0
All economic reasons	197	58.8	97	58.1
Love of work	60	17.8	31	18.5
Leisure	22	6.5	12	7.2
Principle	17	5.0	6	3.6
Career	12	3.8	1	.6
Contacts	3	.3	2	1.2
All desire for work reasons	114	33.8	52	31.1
Loneliness	12	3.8	9	5.4
Family relations	13	3.8	9	5.4
All family situation reasons	25	7.4	18	10.8
All reasons	336	100.0	167	100.0

TABLE II—NUMBER OF MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN REPORTING SPECIFIED REASONS FOR WORKING OUTSIDE OF THEIR HOMES

Reason Given	Number of Women Giving Reason							
	With Children				Without Children			
	First Reason		Second Reason		First Reason		Second Reason	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Financial	92	46.5	49	52.1	52	37.7	28	38.4
Demand for services	24	12.1	1	1.1	11	8.0	6	8.2
Comparison with housework	8	4.0	9	9.6	3	2.2	4	5.5
Contract to fulfill	5	2.5	0	.0	2	1.4	0	.0
All economic reasons	129	65.2	59	62.8	68	49.3	38	52.1
Love of work	31	15.7	15	16.0	29	21.0	16	21.9
Leisure	11	5.6	2	2.1	11	8.0	10	13.7
Principle	10	5.1	5	5.3	7	5.1	1	1.4
Career	7	3.5	1	1.1	5	3.6	0	.0
Contacts	1	.5	2	2.1	2	1.4	0	.0
All desire for work reasons	60	30.3	25	26.6	54	39.1	27	37.0
Loneliness	6	3.0	4	4.3	6	4.4	5	6.8
Family relations	3	1.5	6	6.3	10	7.2	3	4.1
All family situation reasons	9	4.5	10	10.6	16	11.6	8	10.9
All reasons	198	100.0	94	100.0	138	100.0	73	100.0

women without children; Table I, the reasons as given by the 336 women treated as one group. Considering first the general findings of Table I, it is significant to note the prominence of the economic reasons for working. Of the 336 women answering this question, 197, or 58.8 per cent, list an economic reason as their most important reason. Reasons which might be described by the heading "desire for work" form the next largest group, being given by 114 women, or 33.9 per cent. The remaining reasons come under the heading "family situation," and are much less important, being given as a first reason by only 25 women, or 7.4 per cent of the 336.

If these reports be analyzed in more detail it will be seen that there is some difference between the first reason given by women with children and by those without children. Table II shows that economic reasons are given as first reasons by 65.2 per cent of the women with children, but by only 49.3 per cent of the women without children. On the other hand, "desire for work" was given as the first reasons by 39.1 per cent of the women without children, and by only 30.3 per cent of the women with children. In the same way, reasons under "family situation" were more important for women without children than for women with children, being given as a first reason by 11.6 per cent of the former but by only 4.5 per cent of the latter group. While economic reasons were the most important in both cases they were more

pressing, as one might expect, for those women with children than for those without children.

Something should be said in explanation of the sub-heads under the three main groups of reasons. It may seem surprising that "demand for services" should take such a relatively important place in the reasons for working. Many of the women who gave this reason graduated from college a few years before the war, had had experience, and were ready to fill in when the war emergencies arose, especially in the school system. Once back many of them stayed on. But there were also other situations where it was the work which called the woman rather than the woman who looked for work. In three cases it was necessary for someone interested to carry on an inherited business, and it seemed to fall to the lot of the woman reporting to fill the gap. Other women reported that the organizations which sent their husbands to the Orient in educational and religious work more or less expected that the wife should take a position also. In still other cases the woman found herself the only specialist in her particular subject in a small town and her services in demand. The women who married with a contract still to fulfill were in a very similar position.

Comparison with housework is grouped under the economic reasons, because if there had been a larger family income the work would have been done by hired assistants and the question of an outside occupation as an escape from disliked housework would not have arisen. The small number giving this reason should be noted. Data which cannot be presented here but which show the manner in which this group of women were maintaining their households, and the part they played in the household activities, make it quite clear that this is not a group which dislikes domesticity. These women enjoyed their homemaking but not as their one occupation.

One naturally asks what specifically did the women who listed "financial need" as their reason for working mean? Of the 92 women with children giving this as their first reason, 30 stated in somewhat general terms that they needed the money, 5 explained financial need in terms of insufficient earnings of the husband to meet the demands of the family, 5 others listed financial disaster. Ten reported husband's health as causing the pressure, either because it reduced his earnings or made it seem very probable that the wife would in time have to be the main wage earner, and therefore it was wise for her to start before the actual need was felt. Six stated that they wanted to assist their husbands in carrying a heavy economic burden. Five went to work to enable their husbands to make a change in business and 6 to enable the husband to obtain a higher degree. Other reasons listed by fewer than 5 included sending the children to college, paying off debts, supporting relatives (in some cases relatives of the husband), increasing savings, and in one case increasing the income sufficiently to justify the adoption of a child. Only 4 listed the desire to maintain a higher standard of living, and only one women went to work to obtain a higher degree for herself. Desire to assist the husband played a much more important rôle in the reasons listed as financial than did definite assistance to the children, though of course in many cases the children would share in the resulting better economic situation. But it was assistance to the husband in bearing the economic burdens imposed in bringing up a family with high standards on a moderate income which seemed to be foremost in the minds of these women.

Thirty-five of the 92 women with children giving a financial reason for working gave one closely connected with assistance to the husband.

Among the women without children the details of the economic reasons were much the same as those just discussed—extra money to pay for the house and furniture, to pay off debts, to enable the husband to change his line of work or to obtain a higher degree or to assist him when in poor health.

For both groups of women, reasons which could be listed under "desire for work" were given by the second largest number, these being, as has been said, of greater weight in the case of women without than of women with children. But the detailed reasons were much the same for both groups, the desire to continue work because of genuine interest in it, or as some described it, because of the habit of work, being the most important. Judging by the interviews the term "habit of work" is the more descriptive of this group. There were a few women who had started a business and were deeply interested in watching it develop. One woman in research explained a common situation in her group when she said that when she had one experiment just about finished and might give up working, another was in such a position that she had to stay to see it through, and again when it was finished still another had reached the crucial and exciting period. And so she stayed on and on.

Very few of the women used the expressions so common in the more or less popular discussions of married women's work. Only two of the whole group, both without children, listed "urge to creative expression" as a reason for working. Of course, as has been said, this was not a selected group of especially brilliant women, but a run-of-the-mill sample of the married college alumnae in business and the professions.

Working because of principle and the career motive are both relatively unimportant, accounting for somewhat over 8 per cent of the reasons given by both groups of women. As listed specifically they were far from militant. "All my friends worked;" "To justify the expenses of my training;" "I believe that everyone should be a producer;" "I felt that the schools needed married women to balance the flapper teacher," are typical expressions. Just four women mentioned that their reason for working was to "maintain my individuality." The indications are that the day of the old style feminist is passing and that that of the trained woman who works as a matter of course is arriving.

Only 12 women out of the 336 listed the desire for a career as their main reason for working. Of course, others may have concealed this desire, but since most of them wrote fairly full statements or talked for an hour or more with the interviewer, if this motive had been prominent in their thought it seems that it could not have helped showing itself. But only one woman declared herself a careerist in a really vigorous fashion. "I work because I want to be somebody, to get somewhere, to make a place for myself in my profession. We need the money. But if my husband were to strike oil tomorrow I should work just as hard at the same profession. It would merely mean that I could have more assistance and move ahead more rapidly." This woman has children and enjoys the management of her household, but she cannot visualize a trained woman who could truly be contented after giving up work for which she had been trained. Perhaps, as has been said, this woman was franker than the rest, but, more likely, it is true of women just as of men, that only a comparatively few have the blind

urge of overwhelming ambition, and that most do the day's job as it comes and according to their immediate needs and are not fighting for place for its own sake.

The fact that 11.6 per cent of the women without children and only 4.5 per cent of those with children were working because of some family situation is explained by the specific reasons given under this head. The one listed most frequently was absence of the husband because of his business, or life in a new community due to a business move. Desire to share in the husband's interests was also listed several times. Other scattered reasons were "to forget a sorrow," "to avoid a difficult situation where two generations are living in the same house."

Looking back, then, it is clear that the economic reasons were the most prominent being given by 58 per cent of the 336 women as first reason and by the same proportion as second reason for working. Desire for work was given by 33.8 per cent as a first reason and by 31.1 per cent as a second reason, while family situation covered the reasons given by 7.4 per cent as a first reason and by 10.8 per cent as a second reason.

REASONS FOR THE PREDOMINANCE OF THE ECONOMIC MOTIVE

Now why should the economic reasons play such an important part in the decisions of these women to continue their work after marriage? What did their husbands do? How much did they earn? What relation did the earnings of the wives in the group bear to those of their husbands? Answers to these questions might throw some light on the problem.

As has been stated, not all of the women coöperating in this study gave data on all the points under discussion. There were 307 who gave the occupations followed by their husbands. These data are presented in Table III.

TABLE III—OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY THE HUSBANDS OF 307 MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN WORKING OUTSIDE OF THEIR HOMES

Occupation	Number of Husbands
Agriculture	4
Architecture	3
Business	71
Education	99
Engineering	21
Finance	8
Health	19
Law	21
Library work	15
Public service	12
Ministry	1
Scientific work	18
Organization secretary work	4
Clerical	3
Social work	1
Trades	7
All	307

The preponderance of husbands in the professions is notable. Of the 307 husbands listed in Table III, there were 210 in professions, 86 in business and finance, 7 in trades, and 4 in agriculture. This reflects rather well the prevailing public opinion on the work of married women in the different social groups. The professional class, with the exception of the ministry, is the one most likely to take the first steps in a social experiment. The educational group is the one most largely represented in this study, there being 99 husbands listed there including 4 students, 14 public school administrators, 25 teachers in secondary schools, 54 college teachers and 2 college presidents.

Perhaps it is economic pressure which causes this educational group to be so well represented; perhaps it is because members of this group are more likely than others to marry women who not only have a college

education but who have worked before marriage; and further this group, especially in the colleges, is less under pressure of public opinion than are others. In many ways they are apart, considered "different" by the community and thus allowed to go their own way to a greater degree unhampered by public opinion than are other groups. Then, too, so far as business is concerned, there still remains much of the idea that a man in business must give the community tangible evidence of pecuniary success, and for years ability to support his wife and family has been the minimum evidence permitted. Veblen's ideas of vicarious leisure and of conspicuous vicarious consumption are also of moment in this connection.

Interestingly enough, few of the business men among the 307 husbands were in independent positions. Six owned retail businesses, one owned a factory, 14 were in real estate, more or less on their own, but all the rest of the 86 were in salaried positions, some of them of such a nature that they verged on the professions. The conservative attitude of the agriculturalist and of the skilled artizan toward experimentation on the part of the women of his family is well recognized. In this group,

TABLE IV—AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM EARNINGS OF MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN WITH FULL AND PART-TIME JOBS AND WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN IN RELATION TO CORRESPONDING EARNINGS OF THEIR HUSBANDS WHEN THE WIVES FIRST WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE AND IN 1927

	Earnings of Wives					Earnings of Husbands				
Classification of Wives	No. Wives	Av.	Med.	Min.	Max.	No. Hus.	Av.	Med.	Min.	Max.
First position after marriage:										
Full time with children	65	$1,210	$1,200	$405	$2,400	65	$2,112	$2,000	$405	$7,480
Full time without children	59	1,543	1,500	600	2,450	59	2,738	2,160	630	10,000
All full time	124	1,368	1,500	405	2,450	124	2,410	2,100	405	10,000
Part time with children	22	847	805	150	1,800	22	2,562	1,750	800	8,000
Part time without children	13	1,003	720	500	2,000	13	1,994	2,000	800	3,900
All part time	35	905	800	150	2,000	35	1,684	1,800	800	8,000
All Wives	159	1,266	1,300	150	2,450	159	2,250	2,080	405	10,000
1927										
Full time with children	45	2,686	2,000	800	20,000	45	3,786	3,300	1,380	12,000
Full time without children	49	2,351	2,100	1,100	5,000	49	3,566	3,060	1,225	10,000
All full time	94	2,511	2,000	800	20,000	94	3,671	3,250	1,225	21,000
Part time with children	8	693	700	250	1,100	8	4,000	3,300	1,000	8,000
Part time without children	7	997	1,000	650	1,500	7	2,389	2,250	975	4,300
All part time	15	835	800	250	1,500	15	3,248	3,200	975	8,000
All wives	109	2,281	2,000	250	20,000	109	3,613	3,200	975	12,000

however, it was not to be expected that many husbands would be in either of these occupational divisions.

In order to go a bit further into the situation an effort was made to obtain the salary of the husband when the wife first went to work after marriage and also his salary in 1927. It is interesting to note that the husbands were more diffident about having their salaries reported than were their wives and that consequently reports were obtained from a much smaller number. However, they are given in Tables IV, V, VI and VII as throwing some light on the situation.

Table IV shows the relation between the earnings of 159 pairs of husbands and wives when the wife first started to earn after marriage, and of 109 pairs who reported relative earnings in 1927. Table V shows the proportion that the wives' earnings were of the husbands' in each of these groups. The absolute figures for the earnings of either husbands or wives when the wife first began to work after marriage cannot be compared with the 1927 figures, because the wives started at various times between 1884 and 1925, and in order to make the earnings of the earlier date and of 1927 comparable the earnings of each year would have to be reduced to terms of the 1927 dollar. The purpose of the table, however, is merely to give some comparison of the proportion the wife's earnings bear to the husband's when she first started to work and after she has been at work at least two years.

It will be noted that when the wife first started to work, in all but two groups, as given in Table IV, the minimum salary of the husband was higher and the maximum earnings were decidedly higher than any reported by the women, although in a few instances the minimum salary reported by the husbands was as small as the minimum reported by the wives. The median salary is perhaps the best single indicator of conditions analyzed in this

TABLE V—PROPORTION WHICH AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM EARNINGS OF MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN WITH FULL AND PART-TIME JOBS AND WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN WERE OF CORRESPONDING EARNINGS OF THEIR HUSBANDS WHEN THE WIVES FIRST WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE AND IN 1927

Proportion of earnings of wives to those of husbands

	In First Position After Marriage					In 1927				
Classification of Wives	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum
		%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%
Full time with children	65	66	66	10	150	45	74	67	14	200
Full time without children	59	70	67	18	200	49	76	75	25	178
All full time	124	68	66	10	200	94	75	70	14	200
Part time with children	22	44	41	10	100	8	23	21	8	50
Part time without children	13	63	50	14	187	7	48	50	25	66
All part time	35	51	50	10	187	15	34	33	8	66
All wives	159	64	56	10	200	109	69	66	8	200

table and it will be noted that the husbands report a median for each group consistently higher than that of the wives. These same conditions hold true of the earnings of 1927, the exception being accounted for by one woman making $20,000 a year.

Taking the average and the median proportions which the wives' earnings are of the husbands', as given in Table V, it is interesting to note that in the case of the wives working full time this proportion increased from approximately two-thirds for the first position after marriage to approximately three-quarters in 1927. In other words, the experience of this group would seem to indicate that the wife working full time was able to increase her earnings relatively more than was the husband. Of course his earnings were absolutely greater. In the case of the part-time worker, this increase was not shown.

Tables VI and VII give similar data for a small group of 47 pairs of husbands and wives where the wives had full-time jobs and had been at work for several years. These tables are presented simply as an indication that a small sample seems to point to the same finding as the larger, and that the

TABLE VI—AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM SALARY EARNED BY 47 WIVES WITH FULL-TIME JOBS AND WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN AND BY THEIR HUSBANDS WHEN THE WIFE FIRST STARTED WORK AND IN 1927

Classification of Wives	Earnings of Wives					Earnings of Husbands				
	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum	No. Hus.	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum
First position after marriage with children	21	$1,136	$1,080	$450	$2,100	21	$2,082	$2,100	$600	$5,000
Without children	26	1,548	1,565	630	2,292	26	2,926	2,272	630	10,000
All	47	1,368	1,470	450	2,292	47	2,549	2,200	600	10,000
1927										
With Children	21	2,183	2,080	1,380	3,400	21	3,120	3,000	1,380	4,260
Without children	26	1,928	1,825	1,187	4,000	26	3,077	2,317	1,225	10,000
All	47	2,042	2,000	1,187	4,000	47	3,097	2,880	1,225	10,000

TABLE VII—PROPORTION WHICH AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM EARNINGS OF 47 MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN WITH FULL-TIME JOBS AND WITH AND WITHOUT CHILDREN WERE OF CORRESPONDING EARNINGS OF THEIR HUSBANDS WHEN THE WIVES FIRST WENT TO WORK AND IN 1927

Classification of wives	Proportion Earnings of Wives to Those of Husbands									
	When Wives First Worked					1927				
	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum
		%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%
With children	21	64	50	10	15	21	74	74	25	125
Without children	26	68	72	18	100	26	75	80	25	103
All	47	66	60	10	15	47	74	75	25	125

tendency for the proportion which the wives' earnings bear to the husbands' to increase is intensified where the cases are limited to women who have worked for several years.

Since, then, the proportion of the family earnings which these wives brought in increased with their continued work, the economic urge to keep on working would probably grow rather than decline with time, unless savings and investments were of such a character that income from interest would so swell the total family income as to make the wife's earnings of decreasing importance in relation to the income from all sources. But such a situation is not common in the business and professional groups with such incomes as those reported in this study. While the figures are not extensive enough to make any generalization possible, there may be an indication here of one explanation of why so many women listed economic reasons for working.

As the figures in Table V show, there are both full- and part-time workers, and both women with and without children earning at least as much as their husbands, and some women earning twice as much. Among the women interviewed there were several in this latter group, and the satisfactory manner in which this situation has been adjusted was worth noting, for it is a difficult one, being, as it is, contrary to the way in which the world expects things to be arranged. In one instance the wife had started and developed a large business. She took out as her share of the profits $20,000 a year. Her organization employed her husband at a salary of $12,000 a year to handle the advertising and publicity. The business was in her name and she was most definitely the head, yet a happier home situation and more companionable group than this husband, wife and small son could not be imagined. Other cases in professional salaried fields were less difficult, as the world did not know so much about the relative earnings and there was not the additional complication of the husband's "working for his wife."

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the average earnings reported by the husbands for 1927 was $3,613; the median earnings, $3,200. Corresponding figures for the wives were $2,281 and $2,000 respectively, thus making the total family income between $5,000 and $6,000 a year. Dr. Jessica Peixotto,[4] suggests that the academic family of Berkeley, California, has a standard of living which requires approximately $7,000 a year to maintain. Is this perhaps another hint as to why so many women listed economic reasons as their cause for working? Whether the professional family should set its level of living at this figure is not the question under discussion. The modern economic system with its quantity production, its mass advertising, its urge to buy and then to buy more, with the standards which its successful exploiters have set in their own living may have induced the professional group to develop a standard of living beyond their present earnings, certainly as represented by the earnings of the husband alone. Whether they are entitled to such a standard is again not the question at issue.

But there is another suggestion which might be mentioned. Up to a comparatively few years ago in all communities and even today in the rural sections of this country, the family had an economic function. It was worth while from an economic point of view to have a family. The man without one was at a disadvantage. But today under the usual

[4] *Getting and Spending at the Professional Standard of Living*, New York, 1927.

urban conditions this, as is well recognized, is not true. The family of the urban man is an economic liability. This is no disparagement of the social functions of the wife or a belittlement of the importance of the family. But from the strictly economic point of view the wife is an economic liability and the children even more so. It is only necessary to look around and compare one's friends with and without children to see this, always remembering that it is purely economic values which are being discussed and not happiness or other human values.

As a producer of economic goods the urban wife has lost her position. Her work has been taken into the factory and into the specialized shop. Rents have limited her work space and her garden is a thing of the past. In many cases it actually costs her more to buy the materials and make them up in the home than to purchase the finished product even when her labor is left out of the question. At best it is worth but a few cents an hour except in the case of products requiring specialized skill or fine hand work. For the first time in history, then, the average man is supporting his family in the economic sense. This has been true in the past only of a few in the more privileged class. For the mass of the people the wife with her garden, her poultry and her household production more than contributed her share to the economic support of the family, as she is still doing in the rural sections.

Thus when the urban wife says she is working today because of economic necessity, she seems justified in her statements. She is merely going out to find the work which she was formerly able to do in her home. Instead of contributing to the support of the family in direct services and in goods she is forced by economic developments and the specialization of labor to make her contribution in the form of money. Of course there are those who criticize the prevailing standard of living and claim that there would be no need for this if families were willing to live at a more simple level, but we are dealing with the here and now situation and not with a discussion of what ought to be.

OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS OF MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN

There still remains the question as to what occupations these women followed and how much they earned. Full data on education and earnings were reported by 568 women, 495 working full time and 73 part time. A larger number of part-time workers sent in data, but as many of them were substitute teachers or in other occupations paid on an hourly or daily basis and their earnings estimates only, they were not included. Table VIII presents the occupation groups into which these women were distributed and the earnings which those in each occupation reported in relation to the degree held.

Included under business were 2 owners of retail businesses and 7 women in real estate, the majority of them in independent positions, one of them averaging $8,000 a year and another $20,000, the largest earned income reported by any of these married women. One woman was in advertising with a salary of $4,700 and the rest were in insurance and scattered selling positions. Of the three part-time women in business 1 was a shopper, 1 assistant to the manager of a hotel, and 1 manager of a small town little theatre. The clerical workers included stenographers, court reporters and private secretaries.

In the educational group the full-time workers included 41 grade teachers, 169 high school teachers and 19

TABLE VIII—AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM EARNINGS OF 568 MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO DEGREE, OCCUPATION GROUP, AND FULL- OR PART-TIME JOB

Degree and Occupation group	Earnings of Married College Women With									
	Full-Time Jobs					Part-Time Jobs				
	No. Wives	Av.	Med.	Min.	Max.	No. Wives	Av.	Med.	Min.	Max.
B.A.										
Business	20	$3,903	$2,550	$1,690	$20,000	3	$600	$600	$202	$100
Clerical	19	1,502	1,560	900	2,000	1	480	480	480	480
Professional	39	2,062	1,752	1,000	5,000	18	745	710	38	1,500
Social Work	33	2,088	1,800	1,100	5,000	6	766	810	40	1,440
Educational	260	1,932	1,800	500	6,000	32	809	760	150	2,100
All	371	2,044	1,800	500	20,000	60	770	720	38	2,100
M.A.										
Business	3	4,333	4,000	4,000	5,000	..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clerical	2	1,200	1,200	900	1,500	..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Professional	16	3,142	2,200	900	12,000	4	1,175	1,125	650	1,800
Social Work	4	3,200	2,800	1,200	6,000	1	520	520	520	520
Educational	64	2,366	2,262	1,200	4,500	6	812	700	650	1,125
All	89	2,583	2,275	900	12,000	11	917	700	520	1,800
Ph.D.										
Professional	11	2,958	3,000	1,800	4,000	1	800	800	800	800
Social Work	3	3,050	3,250	2,000	3,900	..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Educational	10	2,670	2,700	1,200	4,400	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
M.D.	11	3,195	3,000	2,100	4,000	..	.....	.....	.....	.....
All	35	2,958	3,000	1,200	4,400	2	900	900	800	1,000
B.A., M.A., Ph.D.,	495	2,206	1,950	500	20,000	73	795	720	38	2,100

public school administrators, 78 college teachers and 15 college administrators. There were 12 in various teaching jobs, 2 with private music studios, one reporting a net income of around $5,000 a year and the other one of $3,500. There was also one owner of a school who paid herself $6,000 a year, putting the rest back into the school which she had turned over to a board of trustees. The part-time workers in educational work were chiefly in high school and college teaching.

The social workers included representatives of almost every type of work in this field. One was a major executive with a salary of $6,000 a year and 2 others reported salaries of $5,000 each.

In Table VIII the term professional is used to cover all the professions with the exception of social work, education and medicine, the numbers in these fields being sufficient to justify their separate treatment. The largest single group listed under professional was that of the research workers, there being 22 with full-time jobs and 10 with part-time jobs. The earnings for the full-time research workers ranged from $1,800 to $5,200 a year. There were 17 women in full-time and 8 in part-time literary work. The maximum professional salary reported was

$12,000. This was paid to an editor.

There were 10 full-time library workers, the best paid having a salary of $3,000 a year. She was a reference librarian and had a Ph.D. There was a scattering of laboratory technicians, lawyers, dentists, a pageant director, a director of an art museum, a laboratory artist, a nurse or two, a dietitian and an entertainer. The 23 part-time professional workers were chiefly in research or in writing, but there were 3 organists.

Earnings are shown in Table VIII in relation both to occupation and to degrees. Under B.A. and M.A. are included all equivalent degrees. Likewise, D.Sc., Dr.P.H. and M.D. are included with the Ph.D.'s, since they represent about the equivalent in numbers of years' preparation. Many of the A.B.'s had some graduate work but had not taken an advanced degree, and since the work varied so in amounts no effort was made to consider it in connection with earnings.

The average earnings for the 495 full-time workers was $2,206 and the median $1,950; for the part-time workers the corresponding figures were $795 and $720. Earnings for the full-time workers ranged from $500 paid at a private mission school to $20,000 in the case of the woman mentioned as having developed a large real estate organization. As will be seen by glancing at Table VIII for this group of married women at least higher degrees mean additional earnings. This, of course, is influenced by the large number in the educational work, but the same tendency is shown in the figures for the other occupation groups. However, numbers reporting are too small to permit definite generalizations.

Experience also increased the earnings reported as Table IX relating number of years of experience to earnings shows. The average and the median earnings of both full- and part-time workers increase as one passes from the under five to the fifteen years and over experience group. Not all the women reporting degrees and earnings reported experience, so that data for Table IX is based on 521 cases, 454

TABLE IX—AVERAGE, MEDIAN, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM EARNINGS OF 521 MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO FULL- AND PART-TIME JOBS AND NUMBER OF YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

Years of Experience	Earnings of Married College Women				
	No. Wives	Average	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Full-time jobs:					
Under 5	114	$1,664	$1,560	$500	$4,000
Five and under 10	136	2,026	1,800	800	2,000
Ten and under 15	101	2,286	2,100	500	5,200
Fifteen and over	103	2,774	2,400	1,000	20,000
All full time	454	2,163	1,888	500	20,000
Part-time jobs:					
Under 5	25	708	700	40	1,710
Five and under 10	22	810	725	38	1,500
Ten and under 15	14	813	725	150	2,100
Fifteen and over	6	930	1,000	600	1,300
All part time	67	783	720	38	2,100

full-time workers and 67 part-time workers. Experience as used here is not synonymous with the number of years since graduation, but means number of years during which the women reporting were actually employed.

The returns from the women with and without children were analyzed separately. The women without children had median earnings of $1,800 and a maximum of $8,000. There were 4.6 per cent of them earning $4,000 or above. The women with children reported median earnings of $1,975 and a maximum of $20,000, while 11.1 per cent of them earned $4,000 or over. Excluding the part-time workers with less than $1,000 a year the women without children had average earnings of $2,072, and a median of $1,800, while the corresponding figures for women with children were $2,516 and $1,950 respectively. Both groups consisted chiefly of women who had worked before marriage, so while those with children were slightly older than those without, the number of years of actual experience was very much alike for the two groups.

It is interesting to note that average and median earnings for 1927 for the husbands listed in Table IV likewise show higher figures for those with children than for those without. Of course, the numbers are small, but the finding leads to interesting speculations.

Comparing the distribution into occupation groups and the earnings of the married college women with the reports for the single women coöperating in the same survey, it is seen that the two groups are very much alike on both points.[5]

On the whole, then, this group of married college women is much like any other group of educated women in business and the professions. They are working in occupations in which it is most usual to find college women, their earnings are, as far as comparable material is available, much like the earnings of other college women, and, like the great majority of mankind, they are working because they need the money and because they need the satisfactions which come only from activity which is felt to be worthwhile.

[5] Chase Going Woodhouse, "The Occupations of Members of the American Association of University Women," *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, Vol. XXI, June 1928, p. 119.

The Personality Results of the Wage Employment of Women Outside the Home and Their Social Consequences

By Ernest R. Groves
Author, The *Marriage Crisis*, etc.

VOCATIONAL experience always influences character. It is only in the case of women, however, that we find general interest in the possible effects of out-of-the-home employment upon the personality. Such a question does not interest us with reference to men since we take their wage-earning experience for granted. In spite of the large army of women who are at work in business and industry under conditions similar to those of men, there is still a public opinion which regards their working, at least in case they are married, as something socially peculiar that deserves scrutiny. The popular mind still thinks of housekeeping as the normal vocation for women and insists upon regarding departures from this as worthy of special attention.

It is somewhat as it would be if we were suddenly to find that men, turning from their accustomed form of labor, were insisting upon putting on the apron and taking over the routine of home management. Such a sudden change of vocational inclination would surely prove spectacular. It would not be quite paralleled by what is now taking place, since in the present situation we have not merely a widespread giving up of what has so long been considered a woman's proper vocation, but also a change in the home itself which is both cause and result of the recent migration of women into industry and the professions.

The Present Division of Labor between the Sexes a Matter of Social Attitude

Considered as a mere biological creature, it is clear that the female's function is different from that of the male, but there is no evidence that this has such a social influence as to determine a different vocation for women than for men. Not from body structure or biological function, but from a division of labor, in which masculine desire had the determining influence, woman was delegated the home responsibilities and the details of parenthood. Aside from the nursing of her child, there is no part of the task of housekeeping or child nurture which man could not have carried on as efficiently as woman, if the path of tradition had led him to the domestic vocation. The assumption, therefore, that woman is especially capable to assume the task of housekeeping, and that she naturally finds her satisfaction in such work, has been called into question by the recent entrance into industry of women who are eager to escape home responsibilities and equally desirous of sharing the employment experiences that for so long have seemed the natural work for men.

Although the record of man's division of labor as it stretches backward clearly indicates that the conventional occupation for women has always been within the household, this in itself does

not indicate that woman's attitude toward life has been different from man's, because, as is commonly supposed, there has gone with her sex an attitude toward life issuing from female rather than male feeling, which has made the traditional occupation the only satisfying and suitable employment for women.

The fact is that industry continued the division of labor that was biologically determined on the animal level and built up a public opinion that conventionalized the development that took place. It would not be difficult to show the social advantage of this arrangement, but this is quite a different thing from attempting to demonstrate that men and women have instinctive differences in their vocational choices. Numerous as are the instances in social experience when rationalizing becomes a thinking process that defends what happens to be, there is perhaps no illustration that reveals the human proneness to shy at facts more vividly than the easy-going social thought, which still persists, that the natural vocational choice of a woman is to work within the four walls of a house while the man is irresistibly drawn to outside activities.

THE CHANGING SOCIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMEN

For reasons familiar to the readers of this article the time has at last arrived when the social assumptions regarding woman's vocational desires have been scrutinized and for the first time the question that is uppermost is not What does Woman do? or even What can she do? but rather What does she want to do? The innovation has not to any large degree been the product of woman's conscious dissatisfaction or deliberate attempt to free herself from domestic entanglement. It is rather that industry, which pushed her into the house, has, by its complexity and the opportunity it offers her for livelihood, given her a new choice of which, in an ever increasing number of cases, she is taking advantage. No thoughtful person, man or woman, who realizes how great a change has already taken place in the vocational status of women, can avoid asking what will be the social consequences as revealed in her personality of the new type of experience in contrast with that which has usually been woman's career.

The question spontaneously arises in the mind of anyone who is interested in modern social life: Will the out-of-the-home vocations operate upon the personality of women so as to produce results socially disastrous or helpful? Aside from this we also have the problem of the individual woman who must in her new career find greater or less satisfaction than came to the traditional woman who in the past committed herself to household duties.

Unfortunately we have no statistical evidence that offers convincing proof for generalizations that can be promptly and positively made. We are not destitute, however, of a fund of material which gives a basis for passing judgment, since woman has been free to express her feeling as well as to make her vocational choices, and the trained woman at least has accepted her opportunity to state and defend her attitude, and in some measure already reveals the effects upon her of the out-of-the-home experience. What mark do business, profession, and industry make upon the personality of a woman, different from what comes to men, or socially significant because it happens to a woman rather than to a man? In drawing conclusions we face a difficulty always present in a rapidly changing civilization. The position from which we view the movement and estimate its

consequences is a constantly shifting stand, for the mores themselves, which always furnish the background for our judgment, are in a state of flux, involving the norm which we attempt to use in our appraisal.

THE EFFECT OF VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF UNMARRIED WOMEN ON MARRIAGE, POTENTIAL MOTHERHOOD, AND HOME-MAKING

The problems of single and married women who are working outside the family are in the mass of cases so different that it is necessary at the outset to separate these two classes of women workers. If attention is turned to the single women, the efforts to discover social consequences that come from vocational experiences become primarily the attempt to trace out the consequences of wage-earning occupations upon what, for want of a better term, we may call female qualities. There are certain life interests that have belonged to women in the past, and we naturally wish to know how these are affected by the work of the wage- and salary-earning woman. These interests may be roughly separated into those pertaining to marriage, motherhood, and housekeeping.

Regarding marriage, the answer is that woman's invasion of the vocational domain which for so long has been considered exclusively man's has resulted, on the higher vocational levels, in the chance for marriage as well as the desire for it being decreased. For a considerable number of young women, under present circumstances, their means of livelihood produces an isolation, and, in the cities at least, there is little effective effort made to supply artificially the opportunity for the meeting of young men and women who are likely to be desirable mates. Modern industry produces specialization and, frequently, concentration of one sex by itself, and forces such impersonal contacts and so rigid a routine that during the working day there is little opportunity under usual circumstances for the beginning of courtship.

The ambitious girl or the individual driven, as is often the case, by competitive haste during the day is often too exhausted to use the evening for recreation and fellowship. Even when this is not true the problem of getting acquainted with desirable men seems for many women impossible to solve. Where the occupation builds up an intense interest in achievement or promises a financial advancement which the ambitious girl makes a goal for her efforts, attention is turned away from matrimony at least during the years when an attachment would most easily and naturally be made. The meaning of this was deeply in the consciousness of an employer who had under his management thousands of young girls, whose work required a high level of intelligence. He disclosed his thinking in a question. Stretching his hand out toward a large room full of women working, he asked, "What would these young women do to us, if they understood what we were taking from them?" Immediately he answered his own question. "They would rend the flesh from our bones if they knew that for our weekly wage and the promise of a slight advancement we were taking from them their legitimate right to be married and to have children. They think they are selling their time and labor. Actually they are surrendering their biological rights."

Among these women are some who will be hardened by their business experience and their intense competition. To change one's soul into flint is perhaps socially not less undesirable in the case of men than women, but there is a great difference in regard to

its consequences with reference to the possibility of marriage. A hardened man may marry even if he is limited in his choice by character qualities that the higher type of woman is likely to detect. But the woman who has been coarsened or hard-boiled by her business contacts is seriously handicapped in the winning of a mate. The qualities she has acquired repel men.

The marriage rate of the higher type of working women will be decreased in another way. A woman finds in her vocational interests and possibilities a substitute for marriage and her income gives her an independence that does not force her into a marriage which under other circumstances would seem desirable because there was no alternative. Many of this group of women do not deliberately and finally give up the hope of marriage, but merely insist upon such a high standard of qualities that they encounter no male who interests them, free to offer them marriage. Although some of these are rationalizing and do not really care to be married because they are so well satisfied with their status as independent and single women, the larger proportion, if one may judge from frequent confession, would prefer marriage if only they could discover the right kind of male who would respond to their interests. The new vocational status of women has forced marriage as a life career for women to accept competition.

So far as matrimony is concerned there seems to be no disposition on the part of men to discriminate against women who work. There are certain vocations, however, that seem to handicap single women in attracting men, although of course there are numerous individual exceptions, and indeed in some sections of the country, especially in rural environments, the teacher, who is elsewhere considered professionally hampered in matrimonial competition, seems especially favored. It is, however, a well-established belief among many unmarried teachers that their choice of profession proves a matrimonial liability, and the same belief is widely held by men.

Potential motherhood is a second feminine value that is influenced by the single woman's choice of vocation. Anything that turns the woman away from marriage removes her chance of motherhood. There are a limited number of cases where the vocational experience directly affects potential motherhood because the girl chooses not to marry because of her fear of becoming a mother. The rapid popularizing and increasing efficiency of birth control practices, however, minimize the necessity of retreating from marriage merely because motherhood is undesired or feared. Let us not forget, however, that there is plenty of evidence to indicate that the man who marries becomes dissatisfied if his wife refuses to become a mother merely because this would withdraw her for a time from the vocation in which she is interested. Women discover this before marriage and reject their opportunities. Other women, because of the knowledge of the experiences of their friends, or of their parents, suppose that it is the common assumption of men that motherhood is an obligation of the wife and withdraw from any contact that invites matrimonial candidacy.

There is certainly evidence in the comments of working girls to convince the student that a portion of young women believe their marriage would involve an obligation to accept the duties of home-making, and that they reject such a vocation, preferring business or industrial employment. It is apparent that even the limited type of housekeeping that prevails in the city apartment seems to many women some-

what of a burden, and one that does not equally fall to the man and to the woman. It is hard for social opinion to recognize the justice of an equality of responsibility in housekeeping when both the husband and the wife work outside the family in wage-earning employment. Nothing but tradition, however, can defend the idea that when the woman has finished her day's labor, she must undertake, unassisted by her husband, the additional task of carrying on the housekeeping régime which, although simple in itself, may prove a disheartening addition when it intrudes upon her leisure. The number of women who reject matrimony because they see in it a commitment to obligations that will make it hard for them to carry on their chosen life-work will increase unless there be a greater approach to equality of husband and wife in the maintenance of the home, and a still greater simplifying of what may well be called apartment keeping in contrast with orthodox housekeeping.

EFFECT OF EMPLOYMENT BEFORE MARRIAGE ON DESIRE FOR EMPLOYMENT AFTER MARRIAGE

Society has become rather well accustomed to the working in wage-earning employment of the single girl. It is the rôle of the married woman in business and professional life that is at present more socially disturbing and the more important because of its personality effects. No generalization is possible that does not recognize the enormous variations we find today in the experiences of married women who work out of their homes. First of all, recognition must be made of the motive of the woman who, though married, works, for this is always a large and frequently the deciding factor in the influence of vocational experience upon the personality of the woman. Here it helps to divide the women into three classes involving motives that grow out of the past, the present, or the future.

The compelling motive that draws some married women out of their homes to resume a former vocation and prevents others from ever accepting the responsibilities of housekeeping, is found in the employment period before marriage. Although, perhaps, work is for the multitude of both men and women a toilsome and undesirable experience, it is for many, especially upon the higher levels of industry and profession, a source of zestful activity that can even usurp the legitimate claim of other interests. This love of work is still thought of as a masculine characteristic, but it is certainly not in any degree sex-determined. The woman who enjoys her out-of-the-home employment which promises greater success, and who has generated ambition, may accept the sacrifice matrimony insists upon when she gives this up to assume the duties of housekeeping and motherhood, but it is false to assume that this surrender is for her a less serious matter than it would be for the man.

Many women do not appreciate how thoroughly committed they are to their wage-earning habits until they are driven from their employment by marriage or motherhood. Their change of occupation easily makes them restless and unhappy. More often than is suspected this dissatisfaction with change of occupation is based upon the ungregarious character of household tasks. There is desperate need, if marriage is to content this sort of woman, that we find more ways of developing coöperative housekeeping practices. Perhaps this sort of thing had better be described as the development of specialties which will allow women to work together in neighborhood groups and to express their peculiar skills and interests. A large

price is being paid in matrimonial dissatisfaction for the present situation which makes in each house where the conventional procedure prevails, the woman assume the cooking, the marketing, the housecleaning, the child care, and various other activities, so that she becomes a domestic jack-of-all-trades, and finds that no theory about household management can change her situation.

We have gone so far already as to have coöperative neighborhood nursery schools, where, for example, each mother assumes for one day of the week supervision of all the children of the families represented. Interesting as this is as a feasible form of coöperation, it is, of course, distinctly inefficient, for it assumes that all the women are equally fitted to take care of children and equally interested. It also assumes that on other days these same women can happily and successfully become cooks, household managers, and so on.

There are married women who accept household responsibilities who would not do so, if tradition did not still support this archaic and distinctly inefficient individual housekeeping. In this connection one must not forget that there are women, as there are men, who find working in solitude depressing not merely because they like to be with others, but also on account of the stimulus they have in competitive association. A social worker in one of the largest department stores of Boston, after several years' experience, told me that it was constantly said by the married woman who returned to the store for wage-earning employment that she found her housekeeping lonesome and depressing. Granting that some of them were rationalizing, the zest that most of them found in their former work truly indicated that they were expressing an honest experience.

Economic Necessity and the Employment of Married Women

There are other married women who go into wage-earning employment because of pressure, born not of their former experience, but from the immediate present. This usually takes a financial form. The husband and wife worked before marriage, and after their marriage they do not find a lessening demand for income to support their united undertaking, since, unfortunately for those who embark upon matrimony, wages and salaries are not automatically raised because of a wedding. The woman quickly senses the situation and sees no reason why she should not return to her former employment and become a contributing member of the family rather than give her entire time to housekeeping. By assuming her former work, which may by no means be distasteful to her in comparison with housekeeping, she becomes, at least at first thought, a producing rather than a consuming member of the household. It soon appears, in many such cases, that we are still so socially adjusted to the working of the man outside the home and the woman within that her choice carries with it an unreasonable increase in the cost of living which badly dissolves the combined income available for family support. This does not mean, however, that the family concerned is not financially better supported than when only the man was working for wages.

Sometimes financial need indirectly leads the woman to out-of-the-family employment. It is not so much that the husband's income is insufficient as it is that with her commitment as housekeeper the woman loses a financial independence. This situation explains much of the part-time working of women who seek in their employ-

ment merely an income sufficient to take care of their own personal needs, that they may not put demands upon the husband's income. It does not follow that this is necessarily a criticism of the husband's attitude, for even if he turns all his earnings over to his wife, allowing her to manage the family finances, she may still have the feeling that she is dependent because her support comes through him. Of course this is largely a matter of attitude, and in contrast with this type of woman there is a great multitude of parasitic women who care not from whence the money comes so long as they have a chance to spend a large portion of it.

AMBITIOUS FOR THE FUTURE

There is a smaller class of married women who work whose goal is in the future. Sometimes they are attempting to accumulate a definite sum of money that will bring them some new opportunity, or perhaps lift the mortgage, or temporarily give their husbands freedom to go on, let us say, for example, in their professional preparation. Among these women who are looking forward as they work there are some who intend eventually to withdraw and concentrate entirely upon the household. Others take it for granted that their present program will continue, while some expect eventually to achieve a higher economic opportunity. In any case, they are not especially driven into a vocation because of past habits nor because of present financial stress, but on account of some future achievement which they expect to attain.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF WAGE-EARNING MARRIED WOMEN

Whatever the motive of the married woman who accepts wage-earning employment, her choice leads to the necessity of adjustments which were not foreseen. These conflicts which women go through must not be charged to feminine character, since the same experience is not uncommon among men. If there is a difference between the male and female it is merely that social conditions still favor the former and add special difficulties to the latter who, although married, seeks outside employment.

Entrance into business, industry, or a profession brings limitations to a man as well as to a woman, but, in the case of the latter, there is an exaggeration of the inevitable effect of committing oneself to a definite line of economic activity merely because of a different biological function. A woman at two points faces a collision of interests. Since the male, on account of social attitude, enjoys a superior position in the industrial world, here is another place also where the woman finds herself asking the question, as to whether or not her vocational interest in any degree conflicts with that of the man.

CHILDREN VERSUS EMPLOYMENT

The first point of conflict has to do with the decision the woman often has to make, between having children, at least for the present, and continuing with her vocational program. The seriousness of this conflict depends upon the character of the individual woman, and there are here two extremes, namely, women who desire children immediately and bitterly regret the postponement of motherhood, and those for whom the vocation becomes merely an excuse for not accepting the responsibilities of a motherhood which they do not at all desire. Where there is from the start perfect agreement between the husband and wife not to have children, there is, of course, no occasion for conflict. Family A is a perfect example of this sort of companionate marriage. Both the hus-

band and wife are professional people, ambitious and socially influential. They agreed before marriage not to have children, since neither of them ever desired to be a parent. Now that they are traveling together through the last years of middle age, it is interesting to find that they have never regretted their choice and would not change their policy even if it were permitted.

Family B, on the contrary, is equally representative of a different sort of situation. Here both husband and wife intended eventually to be parents, but because of financial stress in the early years of matrimony the wife continued her former employment. Whether she could have become a mother in these early years is, of course, something that cannot now be known. She and her husband accept the opinion of the doctor who believes that the motherhood now impossible could have been had in the early years of marriage when the wife went out to work. The conflict of the employed woman is most often between continuing her occupation outside the home and having a child at that definite period. It is not so often that she feels that the choice must be made between wage earning and not having children at any time. Apparently, however, in many cases her actual choice is between parenthood and wage-earning employment.

How Shall Children Be Cared For?

A second source of conflict for the employed woman comes when she has had children and cannot return to her former employment without raising the question how much she ought to leave her children, or even whether she has the right to leave them at all. If she has no interest in taking care of them, there is of course no conflict, but a relief that comes from finding in her chance to work outside the home sufficient reason for turning the children over to someone else. The present emphasis of mental hygiene upon the danger of too much mother-contact affords a splendid means of self-defence for those women who are eager to turn away from the responsibilities of child-care. There are, however, a great many women who are much troubled to find that going on with their former employment means to a considerable extent abandoning their children to the care of others. They find it a hard choice, since they enjoy being with their children and also since they are frequently rightly disturbed because the children receive treatment that is inferior to what they would get from the mother.

Conflict Between Vocational Interests of Husband and Wife

There is a third type of conflict that comes to wage-employed women who are married. This originates when the woman has to choose between subordinating her own vocational interests and becoming, by circumstances at least, a rival, if not actually hostile, to her husband's interests. One of the common forms of this special type of conflict appears when it is for the advantage of the husband because of his employment to be in one locality and of the wife to be in another. Social opinion, and in some states the decision of the court, gives the husband's interests the right-of-way over the wife's. In a situation where it is clear to the wife that her success is economically more profitable than the husband's, or that the following of his greatest interests will altogether deny her any vocational satisfaction, the woman faces an unpleasant dilemma. For the sensitive and observing husband his wife's predicament is for him also a source of anxious thought.

We do not have an understanding of

the conflict experiences of women and their social consequences that we have in the case of the child and the youth. This is because juvenile delinquency has led us to make use of the guidance clinic, for which at present we have no corresponding organization to deal with domestic difficulties. Although mental conflict may take a different form in the case of the adult than in the case of the child, there is every reason to suppose that it is largely influential in producing personal unhappiness and social maladjustment for the older person. Except in severe cases, the consequences of these conflicts in the lives of married women are most likely to show in their domestic experiences, and the trouble not infrequently comes from the woman being a victim of conflicting emotions. Her employment outside the home pulls her in one direction while her family and its obligations draw her the opposite way.

To offset these conflicts that are rooted in the vocational experiences of the married woman there is the relief that comes to her when she gets, in her out-of-the-family interests, vital contacts with life that her domestic duties have not been able to give her. In contrast with her pre-marriage experiences, she finds the home a specialized and narrowing task built upon what to her appear to be artificial values. She cannot convince herself that the home should make such great demands, or that it should be thought of as anything more than a relationship maintained for comfort and personal satisfaction. It has neither moral nor social significance as an institution, but is looked upon as a special sort of partnership that should be kept strictly subordinate to the greater interests of life.

Since this is a rather common reaction among men who have home responsibilities, it should surprise no one to find that women also take this attitude. If they are forced by sentiment or social circumstances to limit themselves to orthodox wifehood and household management, they are sure to find marriage difficult if not impossible to endure. For them some sort of vocation outside the home offers a way of escape and furnishes an outlet for their energies which they can take seriously. To them marriage represents a good part but a bad whole. The conventional attitude spoils marriage for them by distorting its proportionate values. The wage vocation also affords relief for the married woman who is enduring a domestic incompatibility and who can tolerate the union if only she can find an antidote for her unhappiness in her out-of-the-home employment.

Many married women encounter in their work resentment both from single women and from men. While many take this philosophically and some even find stimulation in a hostility thinly disguised or openly expressed, there are those who are hurt by it. A more irritating situation is felt by married women who are handicapped because of artificial regulations based upon the idea still persistent in much of the thinking of men that the only proper place for the woman is in the home. Excellent teachers of experience lose their positions if they marry, because of the regulations of many school systems. In one institution of higher learning the woman teacher who marries a member of the faculty automatically is removed from the staff and no questions are asked as to whether by entering matrimony she has taken over additional responsibilities of domestic character or has lost through her marriage her desire or ability to teach. In such instances the married woman finds herself retarded or even restricted in her vocational ambitions by the arbi-

trary decree of an organization that insists upon discriminating between the marriage of a man and the marriage of a woman. The bitterness not infrequently found in the professional woman who has passed forty and is unmarried in many instances finds its origin in the knowledge that vocational expediency tempted the individual to remain unmarried, although there were no good reasons why the choice between wifehood and employment should have been demanded.

The attitude of the husband regarding out-of-the-home employment of his wife is from every angle important. If the husband has a sense of inferiority because of his wife's working, or is made unhappy because he thinks he is subjected to criticism for failure to give his wife adequate support or for not making her domestic life thoroughly satisfying, the wife is made unhappy and at times domestic harmony is destroyed. If the husband fails to take his share of the load, and makes it difficult for the wife to carry on her out-of-the-home employment without seeming to be responsible for an unsatisfactory domestic situation, she resents the lack of coöperation which from her point of view is the supreme test of her husband's affection.

In spite of the prejudice that still persists regarding the married woman's employment, built upon the tradition of masculine dominance, fortunately rapidly passing, there are to be found an increasing number among the younger group of husbands and wives who find a richer domestic experience possible because both of them work outside the home. This thoroughly modern type of man refuses to believe that there is any psychic distinction which marriage originates that can make his wife happy in a household routine that he would find for himself unendurable. At least until the child comes, he sees no reason why his wife should not follow her own inclination to choose the type of work that has the greater appeal. He has no misgivings, because from the first his choice was to marry a woman and not to acquire a servant.

The complications that grow out of the employment of women in business, industry and the professions, are, aside from possible effects upon the choice of motherhood, socially constructed and will be eliminated by merely increasing the number of women who work after marriage. Artificial handicaps and obstructing traditions must give way as woman's economic independence persists and increases. Meanwhile, for the individual wife, the conditions of our transitional period make her choice of wage employment a cause of difficulties that register their effects upon her personality, her philosophy of life, and her social attitudes and relationships.

Some Probable Social Consequences of the Out-Working of Well-Endowed Married Women

By David Snedden, Ph.D.
Professor of Educational Sociology, Teacher's College, Columbia University

We know that among all dynamic peoples today problems of greater freedom and opportunities for women claim much attention. We know that large proportions of earlier restrictions on the activities of women—legal, religious, economic, customary—are being relieved or mitigated. We know that modern economic achievements withdraw from household centers many kinds of production once practicable of execution within households by child-rearing women.

We know, too, that everywhere today the sumptuary standards of men and women are rising so rapidly that in spite of the vastly increased productiveness of modern machine-equipped labor, large proportions of ambitious persons, and perhaps most of all the economically most successful fifth, still feel "pinched" for what they have been educated (by themselves or others) into believing are the "necessaries," or, at any rate, the nearly necessary "comforts," of life.

The "new freedoms of women," coalescing with modern mounting economic demands, are even now developing a variety of resultant effects, some of which are clearly visible, but none of which can be fully evaluated as yet. Widespread "out-working" of girls and unmarried women has become a familiar phenomenon, especially in America. The improved social status of the woman who remains permanently unmarried and self-supporting is easily apparent. The wide-ranging and prolonged schoolings, some of them towards excellent performance powers in superior vocations, everywhere in America provided for girls and women, constitute social phenomena new to history.

As though the increasing freedom and opportunities of women and our rapidly rising sumptuary demands were not enough, our epoch, and nowhere more than in America, finds other complicating new conditions. Religions seem to have diminishing effects on both stability of family life and on ideals of family increase. Widely distributed knowledge of means of conscious control of fecundity within conjugal pairs seems rationalistically joined up among entire social classes with sophisticated popular valuations "that there are too many people in the world as it is."

From the standpoint of a far-reaching social psychology it may well be that the changing social valuations of our time towards family life and fecundity are the most significant and perhaps portentous phenomena to be studied in connection with the general topic of this paper.

By social valuations are here meant courses of conduct, behaviors, aspirations, and the like, which are widely approved or disapproved. Ascendant or dynamic social valuations will be taken to mean those which, originating perhaps in limited areas, spread by virtue of their intrinsic social appeal, as do new fashions.

Out of the welter of changing conditions affecting women, their work, their standards of living and their familial relations, it is submitted that

the following, some probably wholesome, and some probably pathological, in their long-time effects, are essentially ascendant or dynamic—that is, they are farthest advanced among successful, looked-up-to, admired, imitable people, and are therefore spreading, even amongst the modernizing peoples of the Orient.

1. All women should have freedom to obtain all school education possible.

2. Women should be free to follow any and all vocations for which they have taste or capacity.

3. Full time out-working and career following of unmarried girls and women is generally approved.

4. "Equal pay for equal work," irrespective of family obligations, should prevail.

5. The out-working of married women of inferior economic classes is deplored, partly because it entails inferior household life, partly because it stifles the personal enrichment of the woman, but chiefly because it leads to neglect of children.

6. The out-working of married women of upper economic or ability levels (those called in the title of this paper the "well-endowed") tends to be more approved, partly on the assumption that their control of fecundity is ample to prevent untoward consequences to children, if any, and partly because the superior earning powers of their husbands and themselves can well purchase hotel or apartment equivalents of former hearth-centered domesticities.

7. Marriages become increasingly desired and sought as a conscious means of harmonizing and enriching personalities.

8. Marriages become decreasingly sought, either in conscious desires for progeny, or in acquiescent acceptance of the children which unrestricted natural processes will entail.

9. Large proportions of young people of our more sophisticated classes now marry with the deliberate intention of having no children during several early years of economic stringency, in which intention they frequently have the approval of parents and other well-wishers.

10. An indeterminate, but probably increasing, proportion of marriages are voluntarily kept permanently sterile for reasons of the economic ambitions of the husband or the wife, or both, because of apprehensions of economic insecurity, or because of possible interferences with travel and other cultural indulgences and the like.

11. Childless marriages are more and more commonly idealized in works of fiction, in photodrama and other art products, in the minds of socially ambitious women and sports-loving men, among the markedly self-indulgent, and among the delicately reared.

12. Per contra, social condolence for the involuntarily childless wife, or social disapproval for the supposedly voluntarily childless one, tends to disappear and even to be replaced by secretly envious and congratulatory attitudes—again, of course, chiefly at first among the pace-setters, the smart sets, the sophisticates of our civilized modern world.

13. Children actually born into the world are among the most outstanding beneficiaries of certain sharpened senses of social obligation found in the modern world, and nowhere more than in America. Most parents grow in solicitude for such children as they have; social agencies multiply our collective responsibilities for the care of ill-parented children, including defectives and illegitimates; and many tender-minded potential parents probably refrain from having children, or several children, because of apprehensions that idealized support of these could

not be assured in advance. Childless wives and voluntary spinsters are often the most active furtherers of philanthropy towards children.

14. But among our educated, successful and sophisticated classes, there exist today almost no corresponding senses of obligation to have children, or to employ marriage primarily as a means to wholesome family fecundity.

15. Hence, increasingly it would seem, marriage or other sexual relations are looked upon as essentially private and personal matters, especially where no children are involved. Especially do large proportions of sophisticated modern men and women hold that it is a purely private and personal matter whether they choose to have children or not. It is none of the business of the state, the local community, the church or any other agency of collective evaluating powers what they do with their marriage, so long as the marriage partners do not seriously abuse each other's comfort or that of the children whom they elect to produce.

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SETTINGS—EVOLUTIONAL

So far as we have evidence, the great majority of women have always worked at least as long and as hard as have men. At times in almost any society some women, possibly a small social class of women, may have been essentially parasitic. But, certainly in equal degree, have numbers or classes of men been no less parasitic.

But, at nearly all times, and under nearly all social conditions, the work of men and of women have followed different lines, conditioned partly by the greater mobilities and instinctive pugnacities of men, or by social attitudes derivative from these, and all affected, of course, by the clinging of babies' hands.

Coming down to historic eras of settled rural tillage and urban residence we find distinctions between the work of men and that of women increasingly conditioned by household attachments —the household in rural European, Asiatic and African areas embracing the few acres of soil tilled by hand or the pasture areas for household sheep, geese or milk cows.

Women were, under these conditions, prevailing the in-workers, the household centered workers, and incidentally in that connection, assuring safe custody of the small children. The men were the out-workers, the rovers, the wage-hunters—as soldiers, timbermen, miners, fishermen, road makers, religious leaders, justice administrators, and school educators. Hoe culture was delegated to the women, plow culture to the men. Burden carrying, even in coal mines until outlawed, was largely women's work. In congested areas, men began manufacture (hand production) in weaving and other lines only when distant out-work failed.

Under frontier American conditions there was little hoe culture, hence field work became largely taboo for married women. Herding of range cattle seemed too rough or hazardous, and even that of sheep and swine developed here under conditions which rarely offered an acceptable field for female service.

Hence the dominance in America from the outset of social traditions that women in all rural areas should confine themselves to household centered work, and that above all the married rural woman should not be an out-worker. Negro women, as actual or recent slaves, of course, were but slightly affected by these standards—and it was also true that cotton culture was essentially a "hoe" industry. The situation for urban women seems to have always been considerably confused by domestic service.

For more than a century the immigrant classes coming to America have constituted the chief sources of heavy manual labor in mines and in factories. Their women seem never to have become mine workers, but they early took over much of the rapidly evolving factory work. Here little distinction seems ever to have been made in social attitudes towards married and unmarried women workers in mills. The same fact seems to have been largely true of women in domestic service. Within the mills men only infrequently did the same kinds of work that were done by women, even though they worked under the same gigantic roof. The differential effects of this on wages are very clearly shown in the monthly *Industrial Bulletin* issued by the Industrial Commissioner of New York State in which wage rates for women in factories average, almost uniformly, only 50 to 60 per cent of those of men in the same factories.

But throughout the hundred years which closed with the nineteenth century, it seems to have been generally true that however much girls in their pre-marriage years, as well as spinsters, might follow out-working careers for wages or salaries, in all but the lower classes of manual labor women on marriage were, unless widowed, expected not to enter the lists of schoolteachers, clerks, shop workers, or even factory operatives. In general, except for the severely necessitous, any manly man must, on marriage, provide a home for his wife in which she should work as hard as she could, provided she did not appear among wage-earners or salary hunters. The rural tradition on the one hand and the aristocratic condition on the other here joined forces in setting urban standards of differentiations between men's work and that of *married* women.

CONTEMPORARY SETTINGS

A variety of statistical facts regarding "married women gainfully employed" are to be found in the United States Census for 1920 (Vol. IV, pp. 690–871). As interpreted in the Tenth Annual Report of the Director of the Women's Bureau (United States Department of Labor), these statistics show "a tremendous increase since 1890 in the number of married women gainfully employed in the United States." "In 1890 these women were one in twenty-two of all married women, and in 1920 they were one in eleven."

Commentators on these statistics seldom seem to make much of the fact that in 1910 the proportion of married women gainfully employed seems to have been substantially greater than in 1920—one in nine, in fact.

But in interpreting these statistics there are other explanatory factors which we can only estimate. "Gainful employment of women" is largely an urban rather than a rural phenomenon—but between 1890 and 1920 the urban population of America increased enormously as contrasted with rural population. Furthermore, gainful employment of married women is markedly characteristic of recent immigrant groups. But the period 1890–1920 saw tremendous immigration to America of continental Europeans, most of whom settled in cities—or industrial towns offering many openings for gainful employment of women, whether single or married.

It is not, however, more than an incidental purpose of the present paper to assemble or employ statistics of the proportions, work, incomes or other readily measurable facts as to the outwork of married women. The purpose here is rather to analyze certain problems of "social values" growing out

of such work, and, even here, as applicable primarily to certain superior classes only.

The Director of the Women's Bureau in the report earlier referred to, says:

> Granted that a few married women leave the home because they desire a career, or dislike housework; granted that a small proportion are gainfully employed, though their husbands' earnings are adequate for the support of a family; the fact remains that the vast majority of married women seek gainful employment for economic reasons, that is, because the husbands' earnings are not sufficient for the support of the family at anything like the American standard of living.

An entire series of problems center in the out-work of those married women who seek gainful employment because of economic necessity—problems which it is not intended to discuss here. There always have been, and perhaps always will be, substantial proportions of men who are willing to marry and have children, but whose earning powers, even under fairly favorable general economic conditions, are far from sufficient to support their families. We know that there are some men who, for physical, moral or other reasons, cannot even support themselves.

For problems arising among these classes, solutions may eventually be found in part in eugenic reforms, in public subsidy of child-rearing, in such education as will forearm young women against marrying men of low earning powers, in dissemination of knowledge of birth control, or even in compulsory state employment of "feckless" men.

Some of the sources of these unhappy conditions we can now analyze. For some decades after the Civil War large proportions of Negroes evaded their familial economic responsibilities. Immigrant peasant men frequently find it impracticable in this country to get wages or hold positions above the level of unskilled, and often casual labor. A flood of immigrant labor into clothing making, textile or soft coal-mining industries has often operated abnormally to lower earning powers of men in those fields. The crowding of "failed" farmers to cities often operates similarly. Drink and disease yearly depress, below effective earning powers, substantial numbers of America's married men, not a few of whom have irresponsibly large families.

We always hope, of course, that increase in American economic productivity, relief from economic panics, trade union coöperations in maintaining wage rates, more effective employment service, and restriction of low standard immigration will steadily operate to reduce the proportions of competent and responsible men who cannot find or hold remunerative work adequate to normal family maintenance. So far as available evidence goes, conditions along all of these lines seem steadily to have improved from 1890 to 1920 or 1930 in all but a few fields of work, where special conditions, usually of over-production (as in soft coal or wood pulp), or of shifting markets (as in cotton textiles), have produced chronic disorders. In the meantime, of course, gigantic new industries have opened excellent economic opportunities to millions.

EFFECTS OF OUT-WORKING ON FAMILY LIFE

Social workers seem generally to deplore the effects on family life of out-working wage-earning by mothers. Generally it is believed that the children suffer, if not physically, at least morally and educationally.

There are, of course, variant situations and mitigating conditions even here. Occasionally a crippled or idle father looks fairly well after the chil-

dren in the mother's absence. Not infrequently grandmothers or home-staying aunts perform these functions. Sometimes neighbors help out, and we know that philanthropically established day-nurseries have, probably at an intrinsic service expense nearly equal to the earnings of the mothers, kept watch and ward over some small children.

But, generally speaking, we have learned to expect that the children of gainfully employed mothers will be neglected, ill-disciplined, poorly nourished, and educationally irregular. Death-rates among the babies, truancy rates among the boys, and sexual immorality rates among the girls will be severely high.

But even in areas where out-working is obligatory, none of our deductions as to effects on family life are wholly safe. *If these women could be relieved of out-working is it certain that their children would be much better cared for?* Perhaps they commonly share the inadequacies of their husbands. Perhaps all their inferior conditions—poor marriages, irregular employments, poor care of children, high morbidity rates, are all the closely correlated expressions of deep-rooted inferiorities, possibly hereditary. We need much more light here before we can safely dogmatize as to the *causes* of the painful effects we see.

OUT-WORKING AT WHITE COLLAR LEVELS

Census statistics of 1920 give us little light on out-working of married women at "middle class" economic or social levels. Here a great variety of fairly new problems begin to emerge.

Perhaps the sociologist is especially interested in problems of this class, not because the numbers concerned are so great, as because their examples are so influential. In this class we know that already ideals and masteries of birth control are fully developed. Here the full effects of the best of public school education are felt, and also the effects of urban sophistication have become pronounced.

More than at any other level, the white-collar workers of America, men and women, represent what in pre-Volsteadian days was called the "champagne appetite and beer income" standard of living. As the proportions of young Americans, completing at least two years of high school education, increases, so does social competition for "white collar" lines of work.

Though we have no well differentiated statistical evidence to support the contention, the present writer is convinced that if we could compare real incomes (in commodity uses, for example) of various classes of workers between 1914 and 1928 this is what we should find: in general, the real incomes of professional men, skilled artisans and heavy manual laborers, have markedly improved; the real incomes of factory workers and even farmers have moderately improved; the real incomes of Negroes as a racial group, of recent immigrants as a type, and of manual working women as a sex, have all substantially improved; probably, too, the real incomes of those women who sharply compete with "white collar" men workers in clerical, selling, teaching, and other similar positions, have decidedly improved—whilst, at the same time, openings in stenography, counter selling, and numberless forms of office work, have rapidly multiplied for keen, well-schooled young women—most of them, of course, of the millions of "pre-marriage" wage-earners who flock to work so numerously in all our cities.

Only among "white collar" men workers, of all large classes which can be distinguished, it is surmised, have

real incomes gone down since 1914. The reasons for this are several. Unquestionably, most of American high school and college graduates eagerly seek these fields of employment—but these graduates are increasing in ratios at least three times larger than population increase ratios. Again, this is the field in which clever women are in keenest competition with men—and we need to recall that girls finish or nearly finish high school curricula in very substantially larger numbers than boys or men. Then, too, this is the chief field of urban employment left for men in which recent immigrant competition is still largely ineffective.

LARGER EUDEMIC PROBLEMS ARISING FROM OUT-WORKING OF WELL-ENDOWED MARRIED WOMEN

The eudemic (social welfare) problems deriving from the out-working of well-endowed married women can profitably be considered under three heads—the economic, the euthenic, and the eugenic. In these connections, it is especially important that students of eudemic phenomena exert themselves to the utmost to foresee the remoter effects of present tendencies.

The social self-consciousness and "large group" purposiveness of American political parties, reforming organizations, religious dominations, educational institutions, municipalities, and even states and the nation itself, have been, we know, steadily increasing from the commencement of our national history, and at no time more rapidly than during the three first decades of the present century. In a variety of ways we are taking charge of our evolution—making it purposive or "telic," as Lester F. Ward styled it.

Our collective efforts towards achievement of more inclusive and longer range values are, however, nearly always exerted along a few lines at any given time—that is, they partake of the nature of "drives."

For some decades large proportions of our philanthropic and political energies were given to the abolition of slavery. Then we turned heavily to the regulation of corporations and the purification of politics. Next the historian can detect nation-wide concentrations of energies on conservation of natural resources, and promotion of public education. Restriction of immigration and prohibition of traffic in intoxicants may then rise as centers of constructive idealism and effort.

In the meantime our very drives may so preoccupy the energies of those of our abler, more far-sighted, and most largely socialized people as to permit other shortages to remain unattended to, or even to make possible the cancerous growth of unappreciated evil conditions.

We may take as an example of these specializations of socially constructive effort, America's interests during recent decades, in the increased well-being of women and children.

We are all familiar with the scores of successes achieved by women leaders themselves, and by the more social of influential men, in securing ampler protections, and in opening up new freedoms, for women. Even more marked have been our collective efforts in improving the conditions of childhood and youth—physical, moral, and educational.

In the meantime certain other tendencies have proceeded apace. It may be that the social efficiency of family life, as means of giving the young optimum "starts" in the world, has not, as many social students think, actually degenerated during the last half century; but clearly it has not markedly improved.

Also, there is fairly abundant evidence that, as contrasted with more

primitive social conditions, the American people is beginning to lose ground eugenically. Certainly little collective effort has materialized during the last half century purposefully to improve our stocks. But such allegations of social neglect will mean little to those persons who have persuaded themselves that "stock" or heredity is a minor factor in progress.

THE CENTRAL PROBLEMS

It is the present writer's conviction that the economic and euthenic consequences of the out-working of married women of superior qualities may, in terms of fundamental eudemic values, be considerably more favorable than otherwise. This is largely because, as earlier indicated, these women are in a position to exercise extraordinary control over fecundity. But it is also due to the fact that substantial proportions of them are such superior producers that for their rare and few children, and their conjugal home-making, they can procure competent substitute service for "wife and mother" in the home. Possibly, too, increasing philanthropic and state-supported public service to small children, in lieu of that which might be given by competent home-staying mothers, can be provided at a cost somewhat less than the social values of the productive work (for the time thus given by the service agencies only, of course) of these married women workers.

It is the eugenic or dysgenic consequences of the out-working of these superior married women which seem to the writer most serious for the future of our American civilization.

Of course this contention brings us into problems involving as yet several poorly understood factors. There are those who hold that hereditary superiorities and inferiorities appear in practically equal proportions in all sumptuary, cultural, economic, and racial classes that can be distinguished. Hence if a special type—*e.g.*, the very successful, the highly cultured, those following difficult vocations, those living in suburbs, "old American stock," etc.—die out racially through failure to have normal families, the general "human stock" of America is not thereby greatly affected.

There are those, too, who contend that, as matters of fundamental social ethics, the bearing and rearing of children are fundamentally private matters with which the public or corporate will has no legitimate concern. Even men and women very altruistically disposed towards children already born, and eager to invoke even Federal regulatory legislation in their interests, will frequently contend that the procreating of children within the marriage relationship is in no sense a matter to be affected by collective valuations.

To the present writer, however, the foregoing contentions are largely the products of self-interested rationalizations. It seems to him:

1. That the most valuable set of factors in the making, and in the continuance, of a strong, wholesome, and potentially progressive people is its possession of superior stocks, blood, or racial heredity.

2. That people greatly influenced by high ideals and scientific practices of *euthenic* well-being may readily parallel these by low ideals and backward practices of *eugenic* well-being, with the ultimate effect that, whereas, cultural factors may for a time progress, basic racial factors will deteriorate, thus leading eventually to the general decay of the people, to fundamental impairment of its capacities to carry on civilization.

3. That the out-working of married women (or the too-prolonged out-working of single women, tempted by

their out-working to remain celibate) of superior culture, family background or standard of living (and therefore usual inheritors of superior blood or hereditary qualities) constitutes a very serious, and a rapidly growing, menace to eugenic family life in the United States (and, of course, not less in other countries where the more prosperous classes become addicted to abnormally high standards of utilization or comfort).

EUGENIC FACTORS

Any set of social forces which so operate over considerable areas of civilized societies as to reduce to low levels the fecundity of those elements in the population—families, distinguishable social classes, types or stocks, or even individuals—who reach, or, having reached, easily maintain for more than one generation, advanced positions, will inevitably prove socially disastrous.

The foregoing hypothesis involves, obviously, a variety of assumptions or postulates, some of which have by no means been satisfactorily established as yet. On the other hand, these assumptions are certainly as dependable as their opposites. It is assumed, for example:

1. That in any given population complex some individuals very materially surpass others in possession of the hereditary foundations of particular traits, or complexes of traits, which seem to possess much worth in realizing ends valued by well-informed persons in civilized societies. These valued traits may be of a very bodily nature—size, functional speed, or beauty; they may be of an emotional nature—courage, sanguine temperament, ambitious aggressiveness; they may be of an intellectual nature—intelligence, curiosity, scientific interest, imaginativeness; or they may well be composites of these which eventually function as dominating desires to lead, to excel, to serve causes, and the like.

2. Unless offset by powerful special social forces, or conditions, the prevailing tendency in normal societies is for men and women of substantially similar degrees of possession of hereditary qualities of excellence, to mate and to rear normal families. Even far back into barbarian societies parents of prominence have always striven, and usually with success, to have their children mate only with the children of nearly equally successful parents. Marriages today are largely confined to persons of nearly equal standards of living—which are in themselves fairly concrete indices of hereditary potentialities, for some kinds of excellence or success.

3. In the long and complex processes by which particular great societies ascend the vast slopes of culture which we call civilization it can happen often, and certainly has many times happened, that combinations of social forces have occurred—accumulated ambitions, overwhelming ideals, revolutionary storms, newly discovered controls, specializations of functions and the like—which create great diminutions or stoppages in the processes by which hereditary superiorities tend to transmit themselves at least equally with hereditary mediocrities and inferiorities. There are many reasons for believing, though of course scientific evidence cannot be provided:

a. That when a strong people, or a federation of strong peoples, have achieved so much of seeming value, through wars of conquest, that thereafter very large proportions of gifted young men assume military careers as most rewarding fields of work, and early depart for distant wars in which large proportions perish without leaving progeny, a rapid de-

terioration of superior stocks sets in. These conditions were probably markedly present in the Grecian states after the Age of Pericles, in the Roman power, probably decades before Julius Caesar, and in France, of the period of Napoleon.

b. That when a strong people is swept by a revolution, in which aristocratic oppressions have forced such extensive coöperations and violence of vindictive passions of the oppressed, as to result in wholesale extermination of power-possessing classes, the result may be the wiping out of whole stocks or *stirpes* of superior sections. Such effects have doubtless attended both the French and Russian revolutions, as well as many other older popular uprisings of which we have meagre records.

c. Some sociologists believe that mediaeval monasticism withdrew to celibacy such proportions of intellectually and spiritually gifted peoples as seriously to retard growths of culture and order, following the turmoils of the Gothic movements. The extreme prevalence of monastic celibacy during recent centuries among the obviously degenerating Mongols of Central Asia may be another example.

4. It is not necessary here to recapitulate already published evidence of the very low fecundity rates among Americans—and among French, English, New Zealanders, and others also—of superior cultural and economic classes. These phenomena of "race suicide" (*stirpicide* would seem to be better term to connote the "selective" qualities of those forms of race suicide to which real objection should be found) are conspicuous, not only among such classes as can be distinguished by possession of college degrees, vocations (professional), inheritance of some means, select urban residence, and the like, but also to a degree by racial or religious factors or the occupational pursuits of women.

5. Nor can we here review the abundant hypotheses which have been developed to explain prevailing types of stirpicide. The present writer thinks, however, that statistical evidence, as well as common observation, will unite in supporting the hypotheses that high standards of living (or rather of comfort, even luxury) overwhelmingly surpass all others as causative factors in present-day stirpicide in America. Perhaps "standard of comfort" is too limited a term fully to connote all that is meant here, where we should include: desires for rapid promotion or advance in vocation; desires for hotel or central urban residence; desires for travel; and the like.

6. But can we doubt that the out-working of married women of superior endowment now becomes a pronounced and secretly approved source of subnormal family increase? Whether such out-working be actually motivated by economic pressure to maintain for the conjugal pair high standards of comfort, or by impatience of the wife with domestic work, or by her eagerness to follow an attractive vocation, the effects are commonly the same—few and late children, excessively large proportions of childless marriages, and other stirpicidal effects.

AMERICAN CONSERVATION OF SUPERIOR MOTHERHOOD

Nearly all fine Americans have concerned themselves at times with efforts towards the *conservation of childhood*—through their public sentiment making, through their philanthropies, and even through far-reaching labor, educational, relief, and other legislation.

Only at the low economic margins of our society, however, have we seriously

as yet attempted collectively *to conserve motherhood*—that is, we have tried much to conserve the motherhood of those incompetent to procure good aid in time of parturition, of those who become widows, of the excessively fecund, and of the semi-dependent.

But, as regards conservation of the potentially best motherhood of the land, we have yielded to principles of *laissez aller*—except in some cases where religious ideals have been influential. We have talked some to our college women about home economics, and one of our women's colleges has a division of euthenics. But we have not yet awakened to the full social significance, biologically and socially, of the facts that relatively few of our college women marry, that of those who marry excessively large proportions have no children at all, and that of those who do have children relatively few have families of *normal*—that is, stock-maintaining-size.

We are steadily making easier the way of divorce, without seriously considering the effects of easy divorce on potential fecundity, or upon anticipated difficulties of meeting the heavy burdens of child rearing under our advanced standards.

Even public school authorities are steadily relaxing their former restrictions upon the employment of married women as teachers, forgetful of the prayer "lead us not into temptation," and seemingly oblivious to the fact that in these days of automobiles, expensive housing, much travel to Europe, fur coats, and bridge, many women, as well as not a small proportion of their husbands, confronted by choices between easy economic gains for luxuries, and the arduous responsibilities of properly raising three to five children of good stock, will deliberately forego the latter opportunity—and will then protest that in their estimation, motherhood is not a social obligation!

Everywhere in American cities luxurious apartments of two or three rooms multiply—thus tempting to childlessness our abler women hardly less than do our glorious department store windows tempt adolescent girls towards extravagant personal attire.

The out-working of young women during pre-marriage years, however wearying to those of modal abilities or less, certainly often inspires in the abler ones keen devotions, not only to "the independent life" of celibacy, but even, in large proportions of those who keenly desire marriage, dominating ambitions to continue indefinitely in their gainful pursuits—teaching and other professions, selling, office work and scores of other stimulating vocations—partly for the sake of economic returns, but also partly for love of the extra-domestic work. But does anyone seriously doubt that in probably tragically large proportions of cases now, pursuit of such ambitions is achieved only at the cost of entire, or at any rate, major sacrifices of opportunities for the rearing of normal families—and that the "sophisticate" valuations of our more fully schooled classes, to such ends, grow yearly more intense and influential?

DEVELOPMENT OF IDEALS

Suppose that during the next two decades, we were to develop collective ideals and practices of conserving superior motherhood as variously and rationally potent as those now centering in the conservation of childhood—what would probably be some of the concrete resulting effects? The writer submits these as probably valid hypotheses:

1. Through all our school and other collectively affected agencies of education, we would uphold as general

ideals, that persons of inferior heredities (by whatever we can now use as probably safe standards) should plan to have *small* (perhaps *very small*) families, whilst all men and women of good and superior heredities should look upon marriage and family rearing as honorable opportunities to uphold racial strengths and biological fitness quantitatively, as well as qualitatively.

2. Through all public opinion agencies amenable to intelligent policy-making of superior types, we should severely discourage all more or less self-centered practices which tend seriously to impede or detract from fine and adequate motherhood, all women of probably superior heredities—such as artificially high standards of living, physical conditions in adolescence which impair physical capacities for wholesome motherhood, excessive entry of men of good ancestry into low-paid "white collar" vocations, out-working of married women in vocations in which the pace is set by full-time men and women workers, and the like.

3. Through research we should seek to discover to what extent responsibilities of child rearing—or parts of it—can well be delegated to pre-school or other agencies, without thereby creating a new field either strongly provocative of prolonged celibacy, or of the full-time work of women who should probably be better at work with their own children.

4. Through research we should seek to find, and perhaps through social reconstructions to increase, kinds of gainful employment for married women of superior endowments, which will not put premiums either upon childlessness, or upon delegation of maternal tasks to others at abnormal expense, and at increases in complexities of living, harmful for the children.

Home-Making Education in the Colleges

By Louise Stanley, Ph.D.
Chief, Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture

HOME-MAKING education in the colleges is the resultant of three somewhat distinct trends in education: the development of home economics courses in the land-grant colleges, various modifications of the academic curriculum adopted by women's colleges and universities, to give the help demanded by their students and graduates toward meeting home responsibilities, and a growing feeling of the need of a unit of instruction, or a point of view which would integrate the various sciences and arts of the usual liberal arts curriculum and focus them on problems of child training, housekeeping, and home making, with an appreciation of the possible use of home economics to this end.

The first developments in home economics were practical in a narrow sense of that term—an extra curricular activity in some of the earlier women's colleges; a mechanic art in the land-grant colleges where it has had its strongest support and later development; and housekeeping technics along with educational methods in the normal schools where cooking and sewing teachers were being prepared for grade and high school teaching.

Early Ideas of Training for Home Making

In some of the earlier institutions of learning for women, the demand for instruction in home making was met by requiring the young women to share in the domestic work. Emma Willard, in 1814, when setting up the plan for a female seminary in Troy, New York, included domestic as well as literary and religious education. She said that[1] "Housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught not only in practice but in theory." Her efforts to introduce this work into her school failed, but we are told that "life in the dormitory was so regulated that the graduates were imbued with the principles, and acquired the habits which lead to good housekeeping."

Mary Lyon, who founded Mt. Holyoke Seminary in 1837, specified that all students were to aid to some extent in the domestic labors, but added:[2]

> It is no part of the design of this Seminary to teach young ladies domestic work. This branch of education is exceedingly important, but home is the proper place for the daughters of our country to be taught this subject.

At least one aim of the Mt. Holyoke plan was to bring the cost of education within the reach of a larger group, and Miss Lyon said in explaining it:[3]

> All are to take a part, not as servile labor for which they are to receive a small weekly remuneration, but as a gratuitous service to the institution of which they are members.

Unfortunately this activity was unorganized and entirely divorced from the academic work, and this separation served to make even wider the gulf between the doing task and the academic instruction in other lines. Little wonder that instruction of this type failed to survive in a college atmosphere.

[1] "The Home Economics Movement in the United States," *Journal of Home Economics*, 3:329.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[3] Isabel Bevier, *Home Economics in Education*. Ed. 2, p. 83.

The question seemed to be settled in each case by the statement that home is the proper place for this instruction.

President Jewett of Vassar College, in 1861, lists among the questions he addressed to various educators:[4] "'How teach the theory and practice of domestic economy?' The first Vassar prospectus issued in 1865 gives the subject extended notice. Here the struggle between the old and the new comes to the front. 'The household is, by common consent, woman's peculiar province. The art of administering its various economies therefore is among the least dispensable of the acquisitions.' But, on the other hand, 'Home is the proper school for this art.' 'The trustees are satisfied that a full course in the arts of domestic economy cannot be successfully incorporated in a system of liberal or college education.' After a statement to the effect that 'it is dangerous to withdraw a young lady from home and allow her to form tastes and habits tending to unfit her for her allotted sphere,' a compromise is offered: (1) Domestic economy is to be taught theoretically by text-book and lectures; (2) visible illustrations are to be furnished by the college kitchen, larder, dining room; (3) personal instruction is to be given to every one who needs it as to care of her clothing and room; (4) there will be regular hours for sewing.

"No doubt this concession allayed the fears of timorous opponents of higher education for women, but without the scientific backing which now gives meaning and value to courses in home economics, these half-hearted attempts at teaching a trade could not hold out against the determination of women that their colleges should give not only equal but identical training with those of men. In three years hardly a vestige of this work remained."

This unfortunate start unquestionably retarded by many years the possible development of home economics in these institutions and served to fix the idea of this subject as concerned with menial tasks and not worthy of intellectual consideration.

Training for Home Making in Land-Grant Colleges

In the land-grant colleges home economics was developed along with agriculture and engineering, "in institutions designed to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life." It tended first to meet the practical home needs of the agricultural states of the Middle West where these colleges were strongest. It developed as any new subject would, first as an art, quite separated in most cases from the background sciences, required but not always connected in function with the applied courses. The curricula were planned in the beginning definitely to train for home making and led to a bachelor's degree. In certain of these institutions home economics was allowed to develop as a college or division, and in others, as a department in the college of agriculture. This administrative arrangement influenced, and in some cases controlled, the development to a marked degree.

In its beginning the home-making problems were seen largely as skills. Groups of skills were emphasized, and for a period attention failed to focus on the managerial aspects so important in organizing these activities economically, socially, and psychologically to meet home-making demands. The development of specialists in the different aspects of home economics emphasized

[4] "The Home Economics Movement in the United States," *Journal of Home Economics*, 3: 331.

detail and growth of technical information, but retarded this very desirable integration. Many college women looked forward to at least an interim of professional employment before entering into home making, consequently there early arose a definite demand for the type of training which would make possible the professional use of home economics as a means of earning. Since the most usual openings for women were in teaching, there have been associated with these curricula, almost from the beginning, certain supplemental courses in education to train for teaching.

PROFESSIONAL CURRICULA EMPHASIZED TECHNICS

The early direction of home economics curricula toward teacher training tended to emphasize in the state colleges the doing side of home economics, since it was necessary for the home economics teacher to be well grounded in the technics she expected to teach. This was particularly necessary since so much of the early teaching in the public schools took the form of the manual aspects of cooking and sewing. A higher degree of skill was required than in home making—contrary to Bernard Shaw's—"Those who can, do; those who can't, teach."

At the same time, in order to supply a rapidly increasing demand for teachers of this subject for the public schools, the normal colleges put in courses to train teachers, in which the amount of home economics required was a minimum and planned to develop skills, while there was a maximum number of hours in courses in education. In certain courses the two were combined.

A very rapid development is now taking place in other professional applications of home economics, such as extension work, nutrition research, textile chemistry, interior decoration, dietetics, and institutional management. This development is just starting, but has much to contribute in an economic way to national life, and offers interesting and lucrative professional opportunities for women. Such curricula are technical, however, and not to be confused with curricula planned to give young women the training for home life. This double responsibility of furnishing an education for home making and at the same time special preparation and training for various professional applications, without a conscious differentiation, has retarded the development of both types of curricula, but now the objectives stand out more clearly. There is a definite analysis of these aims and a separation of the professional curricula from those which are to prepare for home making.

Those land-grant institutions, where home economics has been established as a college or division, have made a good start toward showing us what the possible developments are. In these institutions there are well-developed programs of resident and extension teaching, supported now by research work, which compare favorably, in the character of work being done, with that in the older and better established fields of agriculture and engineering. A well-thought-through research program is important to the development of college instruction in home making.

PREPARATION FOR LIVING A PART OF THE ACADEMIC FUNCTION

During the same period the arts and science colleges of our universities and our women's colleges enlarged the opportunities for women to obtain academic instruction similar to that open to men. For a time the demonstration that she could keep up with the men was sufficient to give purpose to the effort of the academic college woman,

but that being done, she stopped to inquire what it was all about. Culture and mental discipline sufficed as aims for a still shorter period. But our definition of culture evolved to include knowledge of everyday environment, and psychology showed that mental discipline could be obtained by constructive thought to useful ends.

These changes have brought a different point of view. The academic institution is recognizing as its function preparation for living. It furnishes the foundation upon which professional training is built whether that training is to be had in the professional college or through actual participation in the job. Professional training of the highest type can best be developed on a broad education which provides adequately for personal development, and gives training for home and parental responsibilities which are common to all. The new conception of the responsibility of academic training recognizes the importance of the latter.

This change in thinking was accelerated by a growing demand from the graduates and students of the more academic colleges and universities for some instruction which would help them in the home responsibilities so many of them faced soon after leaving college. Members from this group state, in protest, that during the college years they were not given training to help them meet these responsibilities. This has been met in different ways by the academic institutions.

Most of these have tended to be scornful of home economics, in some cases because the home economics they had known was not what it should have been or might have been, in some cases because their scorn prevented them from seeing all the things it stood for. On the other hand, the home economics instruction has, in some cases, been too dilute, and in the efforts to make it scientific some instruction has gone too far the other way and has become too highly technical to be of value to the general student in the liberal arts college. In education for home making, it is the half-way point we want.

HOME ECONOMICS IN STATE UNIVERSITIES

In the state universities associated with departments or divisions of home economics, the adjustment has been met most normally and in most cases most satisfactorily. These institutions have the support of the home economics divisions with their varied specialists, and may select from the courses being offered, for professional needs, those which are considered desirable as furnishing a basis for home making. Particularly, these may be selected with the idea of giving the young women a point of view which will help in the integration of certain of their other courses and their application to the solution of home-making problems. Such of these courses as measure up are selected as worthy of academic credit (not such an honor now as it used to be). In some cases the students are allowed to major in this field, even though this involves a serious break in academic tradition, since few of the departments are organized directly in the liberal arts colleges.

In state universities dissociated from the state colleges there has been much discussion as to whether home economics should or should not be offered. Home economics was looked upon in the same way as agriculture and engineering, and the young women were told to choose the institution on the basis of whether they did want or did not want this instruction. This may be satisfactory for the professional aspects, but home economics for home making is broader in its application than this. Home economics for home

making should be available in every college where undergraduate women are trained. It is due the college women and can be made an important factor in national development.

This idea was expressed by Mrs. Ellen H. Richards[5] in a paper published in 1890:

> The college-bred woman, she wrote, is a comparatively modern product. Twenty years ago one could almost count on one's fingers the women who were so educated and who were old enough to impress their individualities on any community. It is only just now, when there are two thousand or more mature women who have known what a college training is in their own experience, that we can begin to talk of their influence or lay out work for them as a class. As individuals, they find their own work; but in some respects, it seems to me, that they have obligations laid upon them as a reward or penalty for their position as pioneers, as the most observed class of the present day. We have been treated for some years to discussions from eminent men as to our mental ability, our moral and physical status, our predilection for matrimony, our fitness for voting or for the Presidency; but the kind of a home we should make if we did make one, the position we should take on the servant question, the influence we should have on the center and source of political economy, the kitchen, seem to have been ignored.

From this beginning she went on to advocate the thorough study of domestic economy in all our colleges for women, summarizing her arguments in about the following way: In the first place, the college woman needs home economics to broaden the ideas of life with which she leaves college, and bring her in touch with the great problems which will press more closely to her each year, and help direct her training to their solution. In the second place, home economics is needed for the general good. It was Mrs. Richards' belief that our national life depends upon our homes, and only college women concentrating on the problem can bring together the information needed for their improvement.

[5] Caroline L. Hunt, *The Life of Ellen H. Richards*, pp. 203–204. 1912.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF HOME ECONOMICS IN WOMEN'S COLLEGES

Since Mrs. Richards wrote this some thirty-eight years have passed. Home economics has flourished in the friendly atmosphere of the state colleges and universities. Connecticut College for Women has shown that it can be developed in a friendly Eastern atmosphere and has a course in the art of living supplemented by the needed courses in home economics as a basis for general living. But some of the women's colleges of the East still hold out.

One of the obstacles is the fixed notion of college women themselves that home economics is nothing more than manual training. One of these graduates[6] expresses it:

> The college must be the home of intellectual and spiritual culture, the hotbed of ideas; it must not swerve from its purpose of educating the thinking powers.

To what end, we wonder, and Julia Lathrop[7] suggests the answer:

> Nowhere, she writes, is there any center for research and discovery, nowhere a center where choice minds are devoting their powers to the philosophy of the inevitable labors of the average household, to developing by original study improved care of the young who must be nurtured there, new expedients for enriching the lives of the adults who should be happy there. Nowhere patient research gives the authoritative sanction which would elevate into a national system, strong, free, elastic, the cult of the American family.

[6] Shacklefort, Martha Hale, *Wellesley Alumnae Quarterly*, October, 1919, p. 2.

[7] "The Highest Education for Women," *Vassar College Fiftieth Anniversary Volume*, p. 90.

There are two other traditions holding back the development of home economics in the women's college. First, a definite complex against it, probably based, in part, on the early endeavors to put home economics in the college only on the very practical basis described above, and, in part, the reaction of a group of women who saw in college instruction in home making further entangling alliance with housekeeping detail which had no interest for them. College to them meant an opportunity to measure their wits against their brothers'. They did not wish to confine their activities to the home and gave further expression to this in their educational choices. In the second place, also, the deep set of these institutions against the teaching of anything directly useful has hampered its development. College was for mental development which would direct itself later toward such useful ends as the occasion would demand. Mrs. Howes in the Institute for Coördination of Women's Interests, at Smith, is helping show the relation of home economics to the first. The war and the call to immediate service helped in the second. The nurses' training course at Vassar, the training of psychiatric social workers at Smith, the summer school for industrial workers at Bryn Mawr, all showed what could be done by bringing intellectual effort to focus on certain of these practical social problems. When the war was over it was hard to swing clear away. The imprint stays in certain of the courses now announced.

There are applied sociology courses of direct use to social workers; applied economics at least at Smith has considered the problem of the home budget; nutrition at Vassar, camouflaged first as food chemistry but now definitely called nutrition. During the summer there has been a complete breaking down of the academic bars, both as to usefulness of the work taught, and, in some cases, as to the students allowed. Smith has its summer training school for social work. Bryn Mawr has continued to offer courses for industrial workers, and its graduate school sees in this field opportunity for valuable research. Home economics as such is not yet accepted, but various modifications are being made of the old liberal arts curricula as the dissatisfaction with the old is evident. But the new must be assimilated slowly to their needs, and interpreted in their own language and way of thinking.

Orientation courses are suggested to help the girl find herself. This is not home economics, but may contribute toward it. Goucher feels that through courses in hygiene and physiology she will find the answer, seeing the problems of living and home responsibility largely from the physical point of view.

Smith has her Institute for Coördination of Women's Interests, which is willing to research on more practical problems than she has yet been willing to place in the curriculum. The undergraduates do have, however, an opportunity to see psychology, economics and other sciences applied to the problems of home making and child care. This institute is of particular value in that it is attempting to show how the college woman may have both a home and a job. A solution of this problem will do much to stabilize home-making training and rid us of the complexes arising from a suggested conflict of the two.

Vassar has her course in euthenics, coming back to the name Mrs. Richards originally proposed for home economics, and using the definition she proposed for it. Certain of the courses already taught there have been redirected, and the young women are given

a chance to major in problems of home life.

THE FUTURE TRAINING FOR HOME MAKING IN THE COLLEGES

Home economics has justified itself in the technical schools and colleges, and state universities, in curricula for training home makers and teachers, and is making a beginning in other professional developments. It has served to direct the selection of the basic science and liberal arts courses to furnish a background for home making, and make these courses more functional. It should enter into the education of all women and men, helping them to work out a philosophy of home living which will motivate much of the college work now somewhat detached, integrate it, and direct its application to the solution of practical home problems. The most important knowledge is that which is used in everyday life. This can be supplemented by technical instruction when that is needed.

We can see home economics making a much greater contribution to education for home making than it yet has. Unquestionably much can be accomplished through application of the basic science courses now being offered. Along with this redirection there must be a regrouping, pointing them toward a more definite objective. This objective must be reached without too large a proportion of time being involved, since most college women wish, in addition to these basic courses, an opportunity for specialization in some other line than home making.

A study of home economics at the present time would indicate that too much time may be spent in learning technics. We are not quite sure what activities are going to stay in the home. Unquestionably some have been taught and are now being taught that cannot be justified on the basis of use. A carefully shaken down list of minimum essentials should be prepared and opportunity offered somewhere for this instruction. The elementary and high school care for some. Some can be taught in the redirected college science courses, for they certainly are of greater value than some of the abstract laboratory tests and experiments, especially when we realize that abstraction is no more educative than application. Some can be taught in non-credit courses and as supervised extra-curricular activities. Some will never be a part of any college course, but will be available to college women in the form of extension courses at the time they are needed. Certain instruction the woman wants at the time she faces the problem. Colleges can function to much greater extent than any do at the present time in this field. Their graduates should be reached through correspondence courses, through extension groups, through conference groups brought back to the institution to get help from experts and to give to the experts the practical point of view of the home maker. Such groups have a definite contribution to make in the study of home problems, as Mrs. Richards states it, in concentrating on the problems which will bring together the information needed for the improvement of our homes, or as Julia Lathrop suggests:

> Serve as a center where choice minds may devote their power to working out a philosophy of the inevitable labors of the average household, and to develop by original study, improved care of the young who must be nurtured there.

This should be the aim toward which a college course in home economics should point.

Emotional Adjustment of Women in the Modern World and the Choice of Satisfactions

By Elsa Denison Voorhees

EACH fall in a large eastern city, an elaborate exhibit is arranged to demonstrate the activities of women in art and industry. It purposes to be an encouraging display, an opportunity to make clear the importance of woman as producer and consumer in the industrial and creative world, to prove conclusively the value of her contribution to and participation in the work of the day. The show as a whole is always illuminating because of the variety and massed vitality of the ideas represented. But it is to me also very depressing because of the absence of plan, of balance and proportion. In this respect it illustrates what seems to me to be perhaps one of the chief difficulties encountered by those women in the modern world who are trying to think intelligently about themselves, their occupations, their choice of satisfactions, and the achievement of a nourished, successful life.

As she wanders up and down the crowded aisles of this annual exhibit, the visitor's attention is claimed in turn by: a school for designing dresses; a society to promote folk-dancing; lurid warnings against overweight; a new paint for work on silk; pies, custards, and baked hams; a method of instruction in auction bridge; home missions; propaganda for birth-control; a perfume specialty shop; a business women's hotel; character analysis by the "science of numbers;" an anti-vivisection organization; a popular deodorant; a national political party; lamps and lampshades; a reading guild; an association for world peace; a phonographic method of learning French; a beauty culture demonstration; a school of interior decoration; a shopping service; a club to train public speakers —and on and on, dozens of booths in bewildering, meaningless succession.

This exhibit perhaps represents life somewhat as it has spread itself before the average woman's eyes. From earliest childhood she has been bombarded by external stimulations and suggestions to be this, do that, acquire the other; at the same time, she has been driven by natural, inward longings to grow, to change and to turn with longing toward new or different satisfactions. Now in the present age as never before she is made aware of the opportunities for activity, for adventure and happiness through both her job and her leisure. Whether or not it is true, as we are so often told, that woman to-day has more leisure than ever before, she is without doubt subjected more unremittingly to skillful suggestion and temptation by the promoters of ideas and objects, who offer her new and alluring pictures of what she might become, have or experience in life, shouting at her, as the placards did in the exhibit: "Take our kind of education!" "Wear our health shoes!" "Try our form of self-improvement!" "Eat our kind of vitamins!" "Give your life to our sort of social service!" "Become our kind of business executive!"

The Education of Women for Successful Living

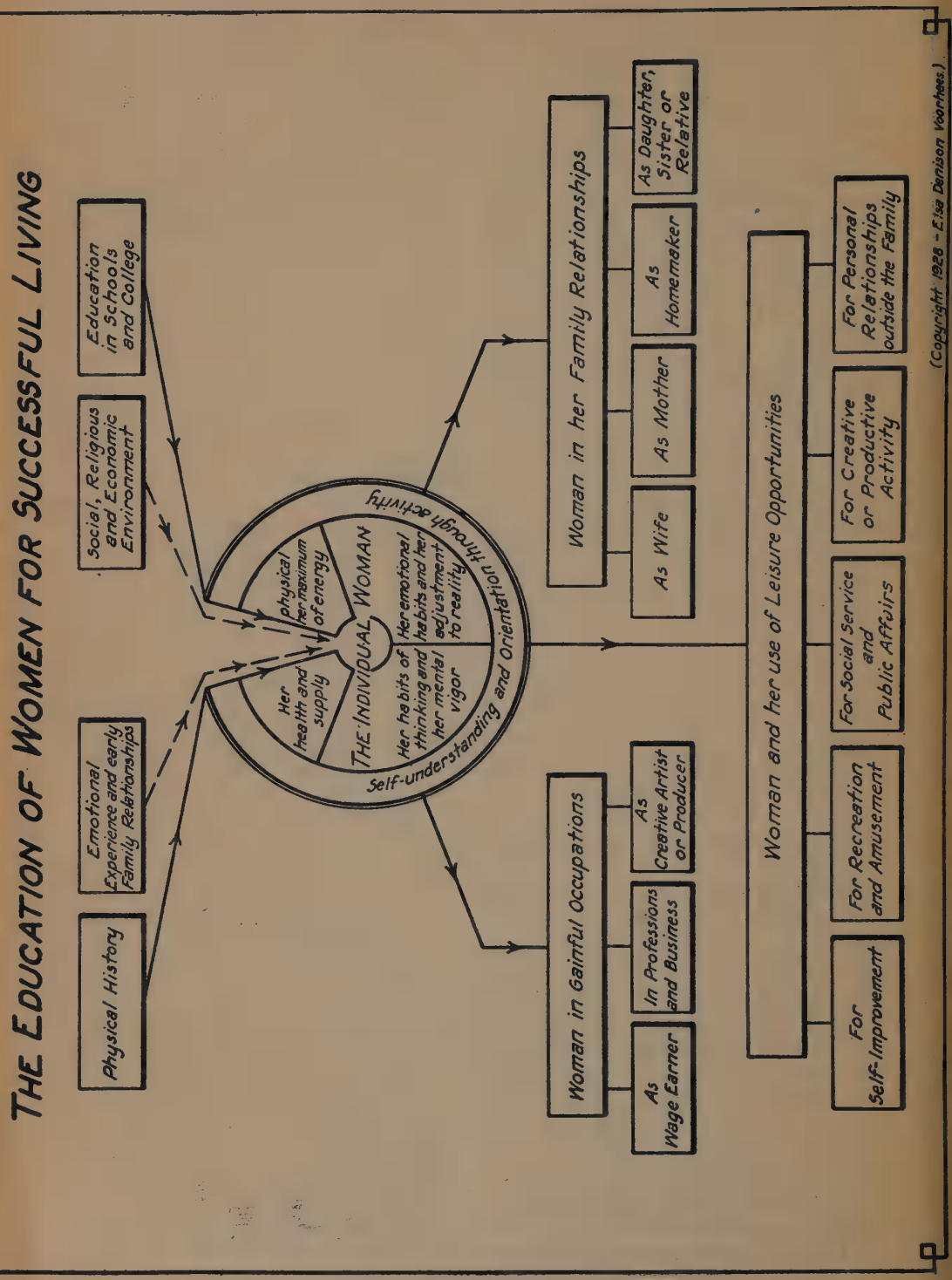
It would seem that perhaps the time has come when it would be wise for women to pause and take stock. What

have women gained *as individuals*, not as a sex, by the enormous social, economic, educational, and political changes which have been brought about as a result of new education, new freedoms, and new opportunities? Have things been managed so that the women of today know how to be happier than their mothers and their grandmothers? Are mothers educating their daughters so that they may have a chance to be even happier and better adjusted than they? What is happening to the modern woman's emotional life? Is she getting sufficient emotional nourishment as she goes along to keep her healthy and useful during the full span of an active life? Is she simply adjusting automatically, without conscious thought, to the external pushes and inward drives resulting from changed economic and social conditions? Has she learned to achieve a business-like awareness of her individual assets and liabilities, a workable program for herself to-day, to-morrow, next year, ten years hence? Does she know how to make a clear appraisal of her own capabilities, handicaps, wishes and hungers? Has she kept her sense of balance and proportion in the face of the bewildering variety and excitements of present-day living?

Life itself, like the exhibit mentioned above, will probably remain, for most women, unorganized, bewildering, and inexplicable; but that is no reason why the thinking of any woman about herself and her own process of living cannot be clear and purposeful. She can, if she wants, and has fair luck and some help, go courageously along with a plan in mind, without exhaustion or forcing, without missing many important things or losing her sense of humor and her spirit of adventure, choosing with her intelligence what she really most wants and needs at the moment, changing from time to time as her inner needs and her standards change. There is nothing new about this point of view. It is reasserting itself prominently nowadays, because modern science, especially the knowledge of how the human mind and emotions work, offers many new aids to those who want to follow the old admonition "Know thyself." This method of thinking requires from any woman, no matter what her education, her social or economic position, a high level of honesty and a continuing wish to acquire only trustworthy knowledge about herself—what she really is and what she really wants.

THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS TOWARD PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

The chart on the opposite page was prepared to illustrate the concept of the whole, balanced, normally-active woman and her relationships to the world. To those whose lives produce in themselves a sense of complete well-being, this emphasis on self-analysis may seem superfluous and even morbid. The circle represents a woman with her original endowment of a physical, intellectual and emotional nature, which has been developed, broadened, narrowed, or stifled by what has happened to her thus far in life. She is now, at this moment, possessed of a certain supply of physical energy, abilities and habits of thought and feeling. She is trying, as suggested by the outside ring of the circle, to understand herself better, so that she may more intelligently control the direction of her energy through activities in the various fields open to her, in order that she may do a better job and derive more satisfactions from living. She probably has a concrete problem to solve. Let us suppose, for example, that she is a mother—her children all day in


THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN FOR SUCCESSFUL LIVING
Physical History
Emotional Experience and early Family Relationships
Social, Religious and Economic Environment
Education in Schools and College
THE INDIVIDUAL WOMAN
Her health and supply
physical her maximum of energy
Her habits of thinking and her mental vigor
Her emotional habits and her adjustment to reality
Self-understanding and Orientation through activity
Woman in Gainful Occupations
As Wage Earner
In Professions and Business
As Creative Artist or Producer
Woman in her Family Relationships
As Wife
As Mother
As Homemaker
As Daughter, Sister or Relative
Woman and her use of Leisure Opportunities
For Self-Improvement
For Recreation and Amusement
For Social Service and Public Affairs
For Creative or Productive Activity
For Personal Relationships outside the Family
(Copyright 1928 - Elsie Davison Voorhees.)

school—who wants to get back into her profession, but does not feel quite ready to assume a second responsibility; or a business woman who finds herself unable to ignore the sense of futility and loneliness which creeps into her leisure hours; or a young college graduate facing important decisions about a career, or marriage, or how to break away from her family. Perhaps she is a woman "happily married," but often unreasonably depressed and chronically tired.

Whatever her problem may be, she will be wise sooner or later to go beneath the surface of her daily activities and to find out what she really feels and wants, and why; to consider herself as impersonally as she would a vacuum cleaner or an accounting system which was not working satisfactorily. Is there an underlying physical cause? Is her intelligence getting sufficient and palatable nourishment? Are her deeper emotional wants being satisfied? Given a limited amount of vitality, given more or less fixed beliefs and habits of thinking, certain requirements for material comfort, certain inevitable emotional hungers, and given also acquired responsibilities, involving the welfare of others, and perhaps also financial burdens, how can she arrange her life as a whole, in order that she may—with luck—get the greatest possible satisfaction from it throughout its probable length, with a sense of well-being for as much of the time as possible, and with an unwavering certainty of her right to grow and to live intelligently?

Before attempting to answer these questions about herself or to estimate what the modern world has done to her as an individual, any woman would do well to clear her mind of the tendency to think of herself as classified—that is, as being a mother, a business woman, a homemaker, an artist, or a professional woman—and to feel herself merely a human being. Secondly, she might accept the fact that she is an extremely complicated, delicate, and sensitive emotional mechanism, endowed in certain directions, lacking in others, planned apparently, like all other forms of living matter, to seek happiness and to avoid pain. Thirdly, she will be wise to remember that "growth is lawful at any age" and that she possesses an almost infinite capacity to adjust, to change, to respond, if she is at peace within herself, if she has focussed her wish and her will on the same goals.

SECURING PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

To go very far beneath the surface of emotional reactions, and to trace their origin and causes, most people need help. One needs to talk freely to some sympathetic, though impersonal, individual who will keep one thinking honestly and without bias. For as the individual considers the many vague wishes and dissatisfactions that besiege her, uncertain about what she really wants, she may find herself unable to focus her energy effectively in intelligently chosen directions, or to discipline herself in the presence of distractions so that she may hold consistently to a balanced ration of activities. One's own feeling and thinking seem to be a battleground for conflicting wishes and urges, hence one frequently seems totally inconsistent to oneself. What our intelligence tells us is worth while, worthy and good, often seems to us dull, flat and unprofitable. We are unable to release ourselves freely either in work or in play. And we are annoyed or irritated by the unreasonable ache of frustration.

More and more accredited sources of accurate, unbiased, scientific information are being utilized to help in solving the difficulties of personal adjustment

and to aid in improving the quality of satisfactions. We, as normal intelligent adults, have a right to demand from specialists in the realms of psychology and mental hygiene, the same kind of help in achieving self-understanding and emotional reëducation which is gradually being made available for children through "behavior clinics," and for students in colleges through personnel departments. Understanding the emotions in order that one may have them work with instead of against one, will, in another fifty years, be as much a matter of course as understanding our bodies and physical hygiene is today. "Introspection," that bugbear of our mother's day, is being used in an honest effort to manage better those parts of us which are concerned with wanting and wishing, with loving and fearing, with depression, fatigue and restlessness, with cravings, aversions and shyness; in short, with all the complicated, usually hidden reasons which underlie the selection of occupations and the choice of leisure activities, as well as the success or failure of the personal relationships.

No matter how difficult and tedious the task may prove, it is now possible to get information about oneself, and one can learn how to take stock honestly of one's physical, mental and emotional situation. Since this is true, women can begin to appraise what the modern world has done to them as women.

If we wish to go further than mere self-analysis, the next problem is to decide whether activity and interest might be more satisfactorily routed into other channels than those into which they are flowing at the moment. Which of all the opportunities offered through gainful occupations, family relationships and leisure, are most likely to bring continuing and well-balanced satisfactions? Is there superfluous energy which might be effectively used in hitherto unconsidered ways? Is one draining oneself or driving oneself without adequate returns in satisfactions and well-being?

The choices of activity and contact with the outside world are endless; but to make intelligent decisions one needs much information, this time about the outside world, facts, impersonal, unemotionalized facts which have been gathered without prejudice or bias. Many more facts are needed about paid occupations, and it is reassuring to know that organizations are at work collecting them. In like manner many more facts are needed about how to improve the satisfactions inherent in the job of being a wife, a mother, a homemaker, and it is equally reassuring to know that in this field, also, there are many specialists and researchers at work. In the realm of leisure occupations, however—of "avocations," recreation, self-improvement, social and public service—it is still difficult to get facts without the bias of the promoter's effort. There is not yet, as far as the writer knows, any place where a woman can go to get a bird's-eye view of the entire field of leisure opportunities, with all the essential, accurate information that is needed before making choices. "Avocational guidance" is still a service of the future.

It seems clear, however, that the need of women for more guidance in their activities in the modern world, will eventually bring into existence a more inclusive service than any which now exists—a social clinic, clearing-house, guidance bureau, call it what you will—which shall make available to individual women whatever professional or laboratory help is required in order to understand their physical and mental make-up, and their emotional

needs, and which shall offer also information about the community, in order to help in the making of intelligent, mature decisions about ways of expending energy in securing the greatest satisfactions.

Viewed from the subjective side, the most pressing need of women in the modern world is not for improved political, economic, or professional education, but for emotional self-understanding and reëducation. Women are facing the most complicated, baffling and tempting array of opportunities ever spread before the human race. Are they making their choices with the wisdom and freedom of complete self-knowledge?

Book Department

FAŸ, BERNARD, in collaboration with CLAFLIN, AVERY. *The American Experiment.* Pp. 264. Price, $2.75. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1929.

The author presents a first-hand discriminatory observation and interpretation of the traditions, customs, and national psychology of the politics, masses, institutions, and individuals of the United States. This study is one which no student of the growth of American institutions can afford to pass over. So often the European, and especially the Frenchman, is misled by the news from American newspapers. He finds it hard to understand the political psychology of a rapidly changing nation. He misreads and places the wrong interpretation upon the position and ideals of the American peoples. M. Faÿ has gone far to place before his countrymen and fellow Europeans a true picture of the trends of our national life.

The reader will gain an immediate impression of the underlying fact that America is really the daughter of Europe. It is composed of her nationals and is the composite interpretation of her combined faiths and aspirations. Yet it is clearly pointed out that the men who have led the movements for change and have governed the country have been of the Nordic strain almost exclusively. This background of gigantic growth in territory, wealth and numbers has led the American mind to a concentration of its attention upon the internal and not the external affairs of the nation. Its eyes have been invariably westward. Can circumstances of the present permit the United States to remain aloof from European affairs? Have not the war debts, the surplusage of production, the internationally minded, the tourist, forced the United States into a position where participation in the affairs of the world is a necessity?

The author states his thesis as the "Study of the United States in action, of its utilization of doctrines and ideas, of its personality, and of the increasing fullness which distinguishes in ways of its own this gradually maturing civilization." It is a study of federalism and mathematical and phraseological democracy. The United States sprang from the havoc and destruction wrought by the religious wars in Europe and the turmoil of hatred and strife between racial and social factions. It established a theocratic aristocracy composed of ardent internationalists and based upon many constitutional compromises. The Hamiltonian aristocratic nationalist and the Jeffersonian theoretical democracy are well presented and interpreted. One of the finest interpretations of the men who have made our politics is here presented. Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Wilson receive excellent treatment and keen appreciation. A rating of the presidents on the personal qualities which are generally considered necessary in a statesman—intellect, force, comprehension, persuasiveness, adaptability, urbanity, etc.,—is enlightening. The traits of practical federalism are summarized as a mistrust of centralization, a disinclination towards war, and a tendency to compromise.

The treatment of the institutions of education, press, literature, art, music, movies, and religion is interesting. This chapter shows contact and appreciation but is all too brief for the whole story. In dealing with the American masses and their political activities the author states, "This tendency to avoid theoretical discussion, this desire for agreement, and this endeavor to succeed through merit, skill, and energy, rather than through ideas, seem today the most permanent rules of American politics."

The chapter on America and the Old World is thought-provoking in the extreme. His short treatment of the tourist from the side of both visitor and visited, the attitude of superiority, the burden of the debts and their implications, all receive short and pointed attention. The author believes that there are two elements in Europe who

defend the American position. Both of these elements are small but fairly powerful. The first is the substantial financial interests and professors, and the second the heirs of Tocqueville and Lafayette. He forsees a large task for the better understanding of the problems of the new and old worlds in their future relations. The lesson of America should forecast that "America, like Rome, runs the danger of falling in love with its mass and power, thereby forgetting its obligations and losing its sense of proportion." His conclusion is that "Europe might derive salutary results from a sincere trial of federalism, from organized collaboration aiming at reconciliation of conflicting interests, from obligatory arbitration, and from a resolve to suppress, once and for all, the political considerations born of the French Revolution." Of course every plan proposed has its difficulties and inconveniences, but did not the United States accomplish complete unification through the suppression of individual and regional variations? "If the task is well done, Europe may again turn towards America without fear or jealousy. Then only will the two continents arrive at a true friendship, born of mutual appreciation and respect for each others qualities."

EDWIN A. COTTRELL.

MATHEWS, JOHN MABRY. *American Foreign Relations, Conduct and Policies.* Pp. xiii, 700. New York: The Century Company, 1928.

Two-thirds of this volume is occupied by a revision of the author's *Conduct of American Foreign Relations* with added chapters on the diplomatic service, the re-organized foreign service, and popular control of foreign policy. This section, always valuable, is much improved.

The new (first) third introduces American foreign policies. Far from a complete survey of our present diplomacy, it hits the salient points. Concerned primarily with current diplomacy, it sometimes dips into history. Chapters deal with principles, others with concrete situations. Well-selected as these samples are, this section can be regarded only as an introduction to our foreign policy.

ROBERT T. CRANE.

BULLARD, ARTHUR. *American Diplomacy in the Modern World.* Pp. 127. Price, $1.50. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928.

There is enough political wisdom in these three lectures delivered before the University under the Jayne Foundation to fill a volume many times the size. Mr. Bullard contrasts the old diplomacy, with its antiquated machinery of envoys extraordinary and occasional conferences, with the new machinery of the League of Nations which brings the statesmen of different countries into personal contact with one another and introduces a neutral element into the conflict of two partisan disputants. Thus far the United States has refused to take part in the organization of peace at Geneva; but at least our government should announce its determination not to interfere when other nations are seeking to put down the outlaw. Disarmament can only come about as the result of a legal system to increase security by coöperative defense.

C. G. FENWICK.

STUART, GRAHAM H. *Latin America and the United States.* Pp. viii and 465. Price, $3.75. New York: The Century Company, 1928.

This volume is a complete revision of a book that was excellent in the first edition. The second edition has been enlarged by sixty-five pages, with the chapter on the Monroe Doctrine entirely rewritten, and much new material added regarding the Latin American relations of the United States from 1922 to 1928. This new material deals especially with the fifth and sixth Pan American Conferences held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923 and in Havana in 1928 respectively, with the Tacna-Arica controversy and arbitration of 1922 to 1928, and with our recent diplomatic and commercial relations with the Caribbean countries, especially Nicaragua.

Professor Stuart shows critical judgment in dealing with the many diplomatic difficulties; he approaches the controversial topics with a fairness and accuracy which deserves cordial approval. The book is a most useful, timely and thorough study, adapted to both college students and the public. The bibliography at the end of

each chapter in the first edition has been increased by the addition of important books and monographs that have appeared up to 1928.

Dr. Stuart feels that the United States policies at Tacna-Arica and in the Caribbean area, as they have developed during the last half dozen years, have not represented the highest type of diplomacy, nor do they deserve unqualified approval. In thus criticising them, however, he realizes the difficulties under which these policies have been formulated. Such criticisms as he passes seem well supported, and are entirely free from vindictiveness.

HARRY T. COLLINGS.

GRAVES, W. BROOKE, *Readings in Public Opinion.* Pp. 1265. Price, $6.00. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1928.

Professor Graves has given us not so much a book of readings as an encyclopedia on public opinion. Two hundred different authors are quoted including A. Lawrence Lowell, Walter Lippmann, Floyd Allport, John B. Watson, Stuart Rice, Freud, A. N. Holcombe, Graham Wallas, Norman Angell, Bruce Bliven, Oswald Villard and Ernest Barker. In addition there is the most complete bibliography since Kimball Young's.

The book includes essays on 156 topics. There are readings on Social Psychology, Heredity and Environment, The School, Organized Religion, The Press, The Theater, and The Movies, Literature, Music, Art, Public Speaking, The Radio, Public Relations Counsels, Trade Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Labor Organizations, Civic Groups, Race, Reformers, Demagogues, Political Parties, Initiative and Referendum, Freedom of Speech, Lobbying, The Courts and Law Enforcement, Censorship, Public Opinion on Foreign Affairs, Public Opinion in War Time, and International Public Opinion.

One might wish that more space had been given to advertising; it certainly deserves more than two scant articles, when it is recalled that close to $2,000,000,000 a year is thus spent in direct attempts to influence public opinion. The readings on the theater, the movies and the radio are also unsatisfactory—probably because we are only beginning to realize their importance in moulding behavior. The material on the Chautauqua is out of date, the latest figures given are for 1920. Since that time the radio has played havoc with these "circulating country colleges." It is to be lamented that there is no mention of the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of Public Utility Propaganda. In fact the entire subject of propaganda is conspicuously absent. But then, one cannot include everything even in twelve hundred pages.

There are few recent books from which a social scientist can derive so much pleasure or profit in his hours of leisure as this one. When he gets tired of reading he can, like the tabloid fiend, look at the cartoons and pictures.

Certainly no one interested in public opinion can afford to be without this book. It should be in every public and college library in the land.

PETER H. ODEGARD.

MORSE-MACNAIR. *Far Eastern International Relations.* Shanghai, China: The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1928.

The three original volumes of Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* and the supplementary, *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, have long been considered standard works with which all students of the Far East must be familiar. Dr. Morse's volumes were open to the criticism of being limited to China and, of course, they would not contain material brought to light after their publication. Many scholars deplore these features of the work but it remained for one, Professor MacNair, to do something about it. The task which confronted him in his effort to prepare a unified and compact survey of this field was indeed stupendous as it involved not only a compression of the existing three volumes into a size suitable to class-room use but, in addition, the inclusion of much new material. The masterly way in which the complex and conflicting national policies which are encountered in a study of Far Eastern history and diplomacy have been welded together in the presentation of an orderly and intelligible account is a tribute to the scholarship and erudition of the co-author. This study is published in two volumes for library purposes and in

one volume for college use. The latter comprises the only comprehensive and scholarly survey of international relations throughout the Far East. A valuable part of the book is the portion devoted to recent developments, notably, the effect of the World War upon the Far East, the significance of the Washington Conference and the policies of Soviet Russia in China, Manchuria, and Siberia, as it is therein that the fruits of Professor MacNair's intimate and observant contact with the events of which he writes are disclosed. Too much of the present day literature describing the Asiatic problems and prescribing remedies bears evidence of incomplete authority or inadequate knowledge of underlying factors, a charge which certainly can not be brought against either Dr. Morse or Professor MacNair. College courses devoted to international relations can not disregard the problems of Asia and classes which are engaged in a study of the diplomacy of the Far East can be given no better guide than this outstanding contribution. The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of interpretative illustrations, charts, and maps which are always valuable in textbooks. The chief regret of the reviewer is that this work is published only by the Commercial Press in Shanghai which probably will seriously impair its usefulness in American colleges.

W. LEON GODSHALL.

SHOTWELL, JAMES T. *War as an Instrument of National Policy and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris.* Pp. x, 303. Index. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

This volume is to be regarded as one of the best books of recent years on the all-important subject of the prevention of war. The author has the perspective of the trained historian. He likewise possesses an intimate knowledge of the particular problem gained by active association as a worker in the movement. The book is written in a clear style and is thorough in treatment. Professor Shotwell is generally regarded as being to a substantial extent responsible for the pact; and he may be pardoned if, at times, he becomes uncritical toward it. The assertion (p. 193): "It is, of course, utterly false to state that the treaty is denatured by the acceptance of Mr. Kellogg's own explanation of it," is at best a quibble. For all practical purposes, that is precisely what Mr. Kellogg's explanation and its acceptance did to the treaty. While there are a few such instances of what may be regarded as parental enthusiasm, the author is, on the whole, quite sound in his exposition of the subject. The book is to be warmly commended to the student of international relations and to the citizen who is interested in public affairs.

BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS.

MATTERN, JOHANNES. *Principles of the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the German National Republic.* Pp. xv, 682. Price, $5.00. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

The author of this book has undertaken to present "the general principles upon which the framers of the Constitution have avowedly constructed the new fundamental Law of the National Republic." In a previous volume (*Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law with Special Reference to the Juristic Conception of the State.* Baltimore, 1928.) Dr. Mattern has ably defended the juristic conception of the state, and throughout this treatise the author consistently follows this theory. Indeed, he states that the "theory of the modern German constitutional jurisprudence is based upon the juristic conception of the state."

The work is divided into three parts: Part I, entitled, historical and theoretical background, is subdivided into German constitutional systems prior to the Revolution; transition from Monarchy to Republic; conception of state and sovereignty in German constitutional jurisprudence; and the question of the legal continuity of Empire and Republic. Part II deals with the relations of Reich and Länder, under which head are discussed competence between Reich and Länder; national administrative control over the Länder; national judicial control over the Länder; and states rights and national unitary state. Part III takes up the national government and discusses the choice of a parliamentary form of gov-

ernment; executive and legislative departments; the ordinance power of the national government; direct government by popular election, initiative, referendum, and recall; the national judicial system; special topics and conclusion. A good bibliography and index are also included.

The work is characterized by scholarly precision and a wide knowledge of the underlying theory of the subject matter. Especially commendable are the references to German constitutional history, the discussions in the National Constitutional Convention, which framed the German fundamental law, and the opinions of the outstanding German jurists. Although the work is avowedly devoted to theory, it is to be regretted that the author in giving so much space to scholastic and abstract discussion has failed to treat or discuss some of the practical phases of political life. To be sure the author states that "a study of the constitutional jurisprudence of the German National Republic has no concern with the question whether the Republican Constitution and the kind of government established under it will be able to maintain itself or not." Yet the feeling remains that this is the outstanding defect of the work, especially if it is to be used effectively in connection with classes in Comparative Government in American colleges and universities.

BERTRAM W. MAXWELL.

MATTERN, JOHANNES. *Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law.* Pp. xlx, 200. Price, $2.50. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

Recent developments in international law and relations are causing the juristic conception of sovereignty no end of trouble. The doctrine needs constant explaining and restatement. We have here a critical examination of the leading theories of sovereignty from Bodin to the present, and a restatement of the juristic conception of the State by one of its friends. While the scholarly restatement by Professor Mattern marks an advance over previous conceptions it cannot be said that the theory has yet been brought in line with the facts of present international life.

AMRY VANDENBOSCH.

SEYMOUR, CHARLES. *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House:* Volume III, *Into the World War*, pp. xx, 453; Volume IV, *The Ending of the War*, pp. xiv, 552. Price, $10.00. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928.

Professor Seymour, who was granted access to the most personal papers of Colonel House, presents the historian with source material of inestimable value. Following the plan of the two earlier volumes, he has arranged most admirably in narrative form the account of the Wilson-House relationship for the years 1917–19. In his preface he calls attention to the facts that he is not writing a history of America in the war, that he is presenting raw material for scholars to work upon, and that the emphasis is always upon House's point of view. Furthermore he cautions one to remember that the matter here presented is selected from a larger mass of evidence.

The amount of Wilson's confidence in House was equalled only by that accorded him from the statesmen of France and England. One is not surprised at the President's reliance on his counsellor's judgment after he has read the repeated avowals expressed by the Allied leaders. Indeed he is forced to the realization, for instance, that the choice of House, a private citizen, as head of the first American war mission was practically forced on the President by the urgent requests of the English and French governments.

The evidence presented helps to clarify that and other points. It is quite certain, for example, that Wilson knew early in the war the character of the secret treaties and was thus aware of the difference between his own peace program and that of the Allies. He realized how necessary it was at first to keep the talk of peace aims out of Allied conferences, thus avoiding disastrous quarelling among the warring countries. The account of how he managed to introduce and superimpose his own ideas at the proper time makes fascinating reading.

These papers make clear how from the first the President expected to put a large expeditionary force in France. They tell how he insisted upon insinuating propaganda against the Imperial government into Germany, and how successfully the plan

worked. They explain how the recognition of the need for and the formulation of the Supreme War Council came about. House was always strongly favorable to the appointment of a generalissimo. They emphasize Wilson's determination to defeat Germany and justify his firm stand against an inconclusive peace. They show clearly that the Armistice was not an early and unwanted cessation of activity forced by America. They trace the history of the Fourteen Points, explaining why Wilson chose to make his famous speech when he did, and conclusively indicating that he was determined to make the League of Nations the paramount issue at Versailles even before he started for Europe.

Both volumes are well documented and the fourth contains a completely satisfying index.

DOUGLAS L. HUNT.

MILLS, FREDERICK C. *The Behavior of Prices.* Pp. 598. Price, $7.00. New York: National Bureau Economic Research, Inc., 1927.

Those economists who call themselves institutionalists have vigorously attacked the current body of economic theory on the ground that its abstract assumptions and deductive reasoning lead to conclusions which have no validity as an explanation of what actually goes on in economic life. They have declared that a new body of principles must be created by the historical and statistical study of economic institutions. Heretofore, however, they have produced little in the way of constructive accomplishment along these lines, with the exception of Professor Wesley C. Mitchell's monumental studies of business cycles. For this reason, Dr. Mills' analysis of price behavior is a volume of great interest and significance. Here, for the first time, we have a bold attempt to invade the very citadel of the older economics, by an analysis of price relations (values) which discards completely the tools of deduction and proceeds entirely by inductive means. Whether or not Dr. Mills would class himself with the institutional economists, he has rendered a distinct service to their cause, for he has succeeded remarkably well.

The book is a valuable contribution to economic literature in two respects. It presents a statistical technique for the study of price relationships that is in many respects original, and it establishes certain conclusions about the behavior of prices, and their relationships to each other, which are both new and important.

Dr. Mills is obviously a master of statistical method, which he uses with rigor. The result is a volume which can only be read with appreciation by persons who are familiar with the technique of statistics. He has worked out means of measuring the variability of individual commodity prices from month to month and from year to year, the trend of such movements over longer periods, their movements during the different phases of the business cycle, and their variations in different markets. Having made these studies of individual prices, he has then proceeded to an analysis of the movements of prices in combination, measuring the instability of the price level by means of index numbers, and the internal instability of the price system from year to year, from month to month, and from phase to phase of the business cycle by means of frequency distributions and indexes of dispersion and displacement. The amount of labor involved in preparing these studies must have been prodigious, for thousands of prices, relating to several hundred different commodities, have been treated to almost every conceivable statistical analysis, and with painstaking detail. It is a phenomenal piece of work.

It is impossible to summarize adequately the conclusions of this study in a brief review. Only a few of the more interesting ones can be noted. Dr. Mills finds prices so variable in their movements that there is no certain relation between them which can be construed as normal, although there was some tendency for the relations to become more stable in the years preceding the World War. He finds, too, that commodities differ in their behavior with respect to business cycles, some showing wider fluctuations than others, and some moving ahead of the cyclical procession, while others lag behind. Great differences in the behavior of prices, even for identical commodities, are observed in different markets. The disturbing effects of the World War upon

price relations, and the subsequent return to a more stable position, are clearly revealed. Interesting, also, is the treatment of prices as a "population," which indicates that the distribution of prices is very unstable, and does not conform to the normal frequency types (such as those described by Pearson) which are characteristic of most "populations."

Like most of the publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, this volume is confined mainly to findings of fact, without much attempt to discuss the causes or significance of the phenomena observed. There is also a manifest emphasis on the cyclical behavior of prices, which is no doubt due to the influence of Professor Mitchell, under whose general direction the researches of the Bureau are carried on. Economic theorists will no doubt be disappointed at the failure to give more evidence on the factors of demand and supply which determine the prices of individual commodities. Dr. Mills has devoted very little attention to this problem. His work does not as yet, therefore, provide a substitute for the orthodox value theory. But the newness of the approach is a significant departure, and there is so much of substance in the book that it would be ungenerous to criticize it for its omissions. It is enough to have furnished so rich a body of raw material for other students to digest and interpret. It is not too much to say that this work is a landmark in the development of inductive economics.

RAYMOND T. BYE.

HOWLAND, CHARLES P. *American Foreign Relations, 1928.* Pp. 752. Price, $5.00. Connecticut: Yale University Press, Council on Foreign Relations, 1928.

WILLIAMS, BENJAMIN H. *Economic Foreign Policy of the United States.* Pp. xi, 426. Price, $4.00. New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1929.

In recent years the foreign policy of few countries has been subjected to more criticism than that of the United States. Criticisms have been expressed in Congress, in the press and from the platform. One distinguished statesman has even gone so far as to suggest that the Senate define the foreign policy of his country. Regardless of what one may think of the merits of the controversy, all agree that the foreign policy of the United States is still in its infancy and is destined to undergo deep and significant changes in the immediate future.

Whether such changes will be for the better or the worse will depend upon an appreciation of present policies and the driving forces back of them. These two volumes represent attempts to outline the past and present policies and to discover the driving forces, chiefly psychological and economic, which bear down upon foreign offices and state departments to induce or coerce them into their decisions. They are treatises on the causation of international policies, especially those of the United States.

To be more specific, the first volume treats of the diplomacy of investment and the diplomacy of commerce. Under the first heading the author traces the encouragement and aid given by our government to capital exports with special attention to foreign oil fields, together with the embargoes set up by the state department and its efforts to protect foreign investments by armed intervention and financial receivership. Attention is centered upon the moral, economic and political considerations involved in each instance. Under the diplomacy of commerce the author treats of the fight for foreign markets and raw materials, the barriers encountered, and the efforts of the government to raze them. His treatment of the American interpretation of the most-favored-nation clause in commercial treaties is especially valuable and interesting His view of the basic reasons underlying the recent shift to the unconditional interpretation is well taken. This shift arises out of the fact that this country has now become a seller of large quantities of manufactured goods in the markets of the world. The danger from special discriminations has become so apparent that the abandonment of the conditional interpretation furnished the chief means by which the United States is enabled to demand equality of treatment.

The second volume is the first of a series inaugurated by the Council on Foreign Relations in which it proposes to examine each year questions of foreign relations which have been in "high relief" or which

have come to such a state of temporary arrest as to permit of deliberate examination. The initial volume is divided into five sections. The first presents the forces, factors, and traditions in American foreign policy. The second treats of the United States as an economic power. The explanations given in this section of the supervision of foreign loans and the implications of gold distribution are unusually enlightening and timely. The third, on the United States and the League of Nations, is as thorough and impartial an account of the conception, birth, development, and disavowal of the League by the United States as will be found in any of the tomes. The fourth traces the financial relations of our government since the war, including reparations, debts, and the mixed claims commission of the United States and Germany. The fifth covers the timely subject of limitation of armament, indicating the accomplishments thus far, the retarding forces, and the factors which must be faced in any solution of the problem. The author presents an acute analysis of the impasse between the United States and Great Britain on naval disarmament. Bold, though excellent, suggestions are made for an Anglo-American naval understanding.

After all, the world is a growing, changing organism. All international relations are continuous and fluctuating. States rise in glory today to sink to the level of mediocrity tomorrow, ever admonishing us that internationally nothing is "settled." Old political institutions and present policies give way to new ones builded upon the experiences of the past and the present. Thus the new foreign policy of the United States will be erected on the policies of the present, moulded by the forces existent at the time. The need for a statement of these policies and forces back of them has existed for more than a decade. They are here presented for the first time. As such, these two volumes are most welcome.

JOHN G. HERVEY.

CHAPIN, F. STUART, *Cultural Change*. Pp. xvii 448. Price, $3.50. New York and London: The Century Company, 1928.

This book abounds in working hypotheses, diagrams, tables and culture case studies. It lights up the processes of cultural change from several points of view, and almost always succeeds in throwing one or another factor into bold relief. (The chapter on "Cultural Lag in the Family" is especially noteworthy.) It is behavioristic and clear, although one sometimes wonders as to its depth.

In spite of all the water that has passed over the dam since the appearance of Ogburn's "Social Change," however, the present volume does not seem to mark any great advance. Its principal merit is its concreteness and readability; its most apparent demerit its lack of integration and originality.

All in all, the book must be regarded as an invitation to research rather than as a treatise on cultural change *aus einem Guss*. Students will here find suggestions and hints, points susceptible of further elaboration, stimulation rather than finality. Some books become classics, others furnish the material upon which classics are erected. This work belongs to the latter group; let us hope that its author will use it to erect the grandiose structure the subject merits and which he has here shown himself capable of building.

HOWARD BECKER.

HERTZ, FRIEDRICH. *Race and Civilization*. Translated by A. S. Levetus and W. Entz. Pp. xii, 328. Price, $7.50. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928.

This excellent translation of Dr. Hertz's *Rasse und Kultur* fills a distinct need in the study of race in the United States. It is one of the best as well as one of the most readable analyses of racial theories which has appeared. The racial theories of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Fischer, Guenther, Stoddard, Grant, McDougall and others are keenly criticized from the point of view of one who does not believe in racial superiority and inferiority yet freely admits that any dogmatic statement of the absolute mental equality of races is similarly undemonstrable. Dr. Hertz pays scant attention to the evidence of the biological sciences and devotes most of his space to historical arguments in establishing his thesis, a fact which will be regretted by many, as will also his neglect of

practically all of the recent American sources.

DONALD YOUNG.

Safety and Production: A Report by the American Engineering Council. Pp. 414. Price, $5.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928.

Any report on safety signed by the men who formed the committee which conducted the investigation behind this book must receive prompt and responsive attention from industry. The menace of industrial accidents to the social life of the country is one of the more important nation-wide problems which must be faced squarely. This is an attempt to arouse the interest of executives in manufacturing, public utility, and mining industries by a detailed statistical investigation showing the relation between safety and production. There is much source material contained in this report, but it unfortunately has not been so correlated that it is quickly available to the reader. Many of the charts have been developed so as to give the reader the impression that increases in production were directly due to decreased accident frequency or severity. The text unfortunately does not seem to prove this point. A large share of the material for this report was gathered through the mail by questionnaire, and it is doubtful whether the persons answering the questionnaires gave sufficient thought to the import of their answers. However, due to the large number of establishments from which data was secured (13,898) it may be that any individual errors in answering the questionnaires disappear in the averages which have been determined. The inclusion of approximately two hundred pages of charts of the trends of individual cases or groups of cases does not seem to be justified.

This report will be referred to for many years in view of the detailed investigation which took place. A sound conclusion is reached on page 32, "It, therefore, seems reasonable to believe that the production and accident records are accomplished by the same agency—that is, by the intelligent, progressive management which, on the one hand, is taking advantage of every opportunity to improve efficiency of production, and, on the other, is striving to lessen the number of accidents and reduce their cost." The detailed findings which support this are also sound, and many of the recommendations if carried out would also lead to reduction of the accident hazard of industry. The effort put forth in this study would be justified if this book would lead only a few industrial executives to believe, quoting page 36, that, "Industry is admirably efficient, its achievements are a source of justifiable national pride, but its processes must be freed from inexcusable human wastage. Its operation must no longer accumulate a preventable cost in human lives and curtailed energies."

RICHARD H. LANSBURGH.

LAWRENCE, JOSEPH STAGG. *Stabilization of Prices: A Critical Study of the Various Plans Proposed for Stabilization.* Pp. xix, 484. Price, $5.00. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928.

This new volume in the field of stabilization is an attempt to sum up and evaluate the different proposed plans of price-control. The first part is taken up with a discussion of the evils of an unstable standard; it emphasizes the distributive function of money. Although moderately well done, it adds nothing to present knowledge. The second part is a summary of the different plans. It consists largely of quotations from the different protagonists of stabilization. A consideration of the fundamental factors in each plan, in Mr. Lawrence's own words, would have been more satisfactory. The third and last part is a far-flung and daring attack upon all stabilization plans. Neither well-known theory nor scholarly reputation daunt Mr. Lawrence. He plunges ahead through a maze of quotations and figures to the final conclusion that no plan of stabilization is sound.

In coming to this conclusion, a number of heterodox subconclusions are inferred. Mr. Lawrence finds that gold is really exceedingly stable in value, that the rediscount process and open-market operation of central banks are completely ineffective as credit controls, and that the quantity theory is entirely unsound as a basis for any stabilization scheme. To the reviewer, it appears that some of these con-

clusions are arrived at in a rather cavalier fashion. Mr. Lawrence seems to consider price as a direct function of human psychology. Therefore, he finds, any talk of controlling price through controlling the volume of outstanding credit is foolish. And further, he contends, we have no adequate mechanism for the control of credit-volume. A lack of scientific caution and thoroughness is obvious in many places. A redundance of rhetorical and dogmatic expression, and of sarcasm and irony, can be properly charged. In his discussion of the multiple expansion of bank-loans against additional reserves, it is felt that Mr. Lawrence has added something to the already-known.

On the final page, Mr. Lawrence offers his own solution for monetary instability. It lies in the elimination of wars and the retention and improvement of the gold standard. But wars and cruisers are still with us, and he has proved that all plans to improve the gold standard are unsound! So what hope is left for stabilization?

W. M. BLAISDELL.

BOGEN, JULES, I. *Analysis of Railroad Securities.* Pp. 449. Price, $6.00. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1928.

Dr. Bogen is Assistant Professor of Finance in New York University and has served for some time as Financial Editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce.* Through this two-fold capacity he has been able to incorporate in this volume the organization and precision of the trained teacher with the practical experience obtained through years of contact with leaders in the field. As a result, his treatise includes a body of fundamental information clearly presented.

The book is divided into three main parts which take up successively: (1) The New Order in the Railroad Industry, (2) Evaluation of an Individual Railroad, and (3) Financial Analysis. In Part I is presented a critical study of the railroad situation since the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920 and its regulation of railroad securities. Here the author lays the groundwork for his subsequent development of present-day methods in analyzing railroad securities. The Transportation Act of 1920 included such far-reaching provisions regarding the earning power and the financing of railroads that it must be made the basis of any present-day analysis. Parts II and III present the important phases of the physical and financial factors of a railroad bearing on the determination of its security values. Included in Part III is a chapter on Railroad Consolidation which is, in content, better suited to Part I.

Appendices give the essential features of the Transportation Act of 1920, a list of histories of individual railroad companies, a list of leading railroad periodicals, a description of the Copeland Service and an estimate of present-day (1926) valuations of all railroads with indicated earning power per share of common stock. In addition, there is a useful selection of references at the end of each chapter.

G. WRIGHT HOFFMAN.

Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Governmental Research Association at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 15, 16, 17. Pp. 151 Mimeo.

From time to time a man in middle age who has done nothing but accumulate dollars wakes up and decides to get into public life. Accustomed to solving problems, he wants to know what are the problems which in the solving might produce the greatest good for the greatest number. If such a man wanted to know what these are in that most laborious but fascinating of all fields, local government, and in what directions the solutions are being found, he should read this record of three days speeches, reports, and discussions participated in by the most curious group of "experts" that we have, the municipal researchers. There was no discussion of the doctrine of the separation of powers, or moaning about citizen apathy. They discussed means of getting people decently housed, how to arrange the financial reports of the cities so that a citizen can become interested in them, what are worthwhile measuring sticks with which to measure what a taxpayer's dollar buys, how newspapers can coöperate in spreading abroad the findings of the experts. Occasionally the note of high philosophy is heard as in Dr. Beard's speech championing modern

civilization and modern city life as actually good for the soul of man, and Richard S. Childs' presidential address voices the restlessness of the idealist who seeks new crusades now that graft is at its last gasp in most cities and only the slow work remains of putting out the smouldering embers of incompetency. It is as uneven and various as all such transcripts of conferences must be, but it throbs with the vitality of local governmental problems as they really are and is the next best thing to research itself to initiate the neophyte into that perilous region where the science of government becomes art.

WALTER J. MILLARD.

BRADWAY, JOHN S. *Laws of Pennsylvania Relating to Social Work.* Pp. 261. Price, $2.50. Philadelphia: The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania.

A person in trouble, it has been said, is the beginning of social work. Thus broadly conceived, there are many persons who engage in social work. Whoever is called upon to advise and aid anyone in trouble within the confines of Pennsylvania, whether professional social worker or not, will find this compilation by Mr. John Bradway an invaluable and well nigh indispensable book. The range of its chapters—children, the poor law, crimes, decedents' estates, workmen's compensation, marriage and divorce, mental patients, habitual users of drugs or alcohol, public health and safety, contracts, labor, and the court system of Pennsylvania—indicates the extent of its usefulness. Mr. Bradway merits the gratitude of that large number of persons who have need for this excellent compilation, and the Public Charities Association, at whose request the work was done, deserves their genuine appreciation.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD J. *Survey of International Affairs, 1926.* 2 vols. Pp. x, 565. Price, $8.50 a volume. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928.

Like the earlier volumes in this series recording "the more important international events in the crowded period from the Versailles Peace Conference to the end of the year 1926," these too are published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The first volume, although confined largely to the events of the year 1926, "brings up arrears" on the story of Inter-Allied Debts, the mandates and dependencies in the Pacific area. A brief chapter on the United States and the Permanent Court is contributed by L. Lauterpacht and a much larger one on the Debts by R. J. Stopford, while V. M. Boulter collaborates with Professor Toynbee on the work as a whole.

The second volume bears the title "The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement," and is entirely by Professor Toynbee himself. The emphasis is mainly on the constitutional phases of the subject, the story of the foreign relations and the evolution of the British Commonwealth within the Empire, being made quite secondary to the constitutional problems arising out of the gradual assumption of the control of foreign affairs by the Dominions.

In this development the author believes the novel, and at the same time, basic feature lies in the fact that the "self-governing members of the British Commonwealth overseas" entered in direct relations with foreign governments in the political as well as economic sphere in "full agreement with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain." This marks a radical departure from the previous practice in which the foreign relations of the Dominions were handled by the Foreign Office in London and its representatives at foreign capitals. That so momentous a change involved serious constitutional questions is evident, and we are indebted to Professor Toynbee for a remarkably clear and penetrating analysis of this interesting phase in the evolution of the Commonwealth System.

The last chapters present a survey of the establishment of diplomatic relations between members of the Commonwealth of British nations and the United States. The Irish Free State was the first to accredit a minister to Washington in the person of Timothy Smiddy in 1924. Canada followed in 1927 when Mr. Vincent Massey presented his credentials to President Coolidge; our government reciprocating in June by sending Mr. William Phillips

to Ottawa. The appendix is devoted to a timely survey of the smuggling problem, and the water question of the St. Lawrence Basin and the Great Lakes.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

BADGER, RALPH EASTMAN. *Investment Principles and Practises.* Pp. xxv, 915. Price, $6.00. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1928.

If an investor has decided to invest in securities and wants to know about the different kinds, this is a good book for him to read. If, as is more likely, he is in doubt whether to buy securities or to invest in some other form, he will get little light from it. In other words, this is a book not on *investment principles* but on *security investments.*

The author treats not only securities but the institution or business behind the securities. For example, he attempts a brief description of banks and insurance companies as the basis for his discussion of bank and insurance stocks; likewise public utilities as the basis for their securities. This has the merit of calling attention to underlying factors in security investments but suffers the demerits of expanding the book until it becomes too expensive for widespread text use and of making much of the material sketchy and inadequate on the institutional phases.

On the whole the book is one of the best treatments of stock and bond investments available. It deserves a wide reading, especially now when so many persons are buying securities blindly.

ALBERT S. KEISTER.

MARRIOTT, SIR JOHN A. R., M.P. for York. *How England is Governed.* Pp. 112. Price, $1.25. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928.

The merit of this book lies in the brief and simple manner in which it describes the mechanism and major activities of the British government. It is elementary and uncritical description, but it will be valuable for those who wish to learn the outstanding characteristics of the British system without prolonged or intensive study. Frequent footnote references to comparable sections of the author's longer books in the same field furnish a guide to those who wish to learn more about many of the topics treated.

B. W. WEST.

WOODSON, CARTER GODWIN. *African Myths.* Pp. xv, 184. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928.

One of the needs of the American Negro is a tradition indicative of a past high level of culture out of which may grow an essential pride of race and self-confidence. Dr. Carter Woodson in *African Myths* has with considerable success presented a few African legends in language adapted to the lower grade school children in an effort to aid the development of such a tradition.

DONALD YOUNG.

The Radio Industry: the Story of Its Development. Pp. vii, 330. Price, $5.00. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company, 1928.

Eleven addresses delivered before the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University constitute the present volume. Most of the lecturers are persons in high places in the Radio Corporation of America or companies affiliated with it. The subjects are chiefly phases of the development of radio, though some, like "The Law of the Air," by Judge Stephen Davis, deal with particular classes of problems. The volume provides interesting, authoritative information for the general reader. Its limitations, such as the omission of international aspects, are those incident to its character.

IRVIN STEWART.

MEAD, E. S., and OSTROLENK, BERNHARD. *Harvey Baum: A Study of the Agricultural Revolution.* Pp. 149. Price, $2.00. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928.

Agriculture in America is in a bad way. Everybody knows it, and the country is prepared to accept some form of farm relief. But what form shall the relief take? The farmers—or at least the most vociferous among them—demand a scheme which will so effectively increase prices of farm products as to assure to agricultural producers some six billions a year more in income.

But since none of the farm proposals implies any corresponding expansion of production as a whole, what accrues to the farmers is simply added to the costs of the urban population.

The authors of the little book under review face this issue squarely. The farm problem in their judgment is fundamentally a business problem. Agriculture is in the throes of a technical revolution which has permitted a rapid increase in product with steadily diminishing man power. And at the same time prices have tended downward so that farming today is on the average a losing proposition. Even at current prices exceptional individuals utilizing scientific methods can earn good profits, but were all farmers to apply such methods the resulting surplusage of farm products would even more disastrously depress prices. An attempt artificially to bulwark prices would aggravate rather than alleviate the difficulty, because it would tend to encourage too many to stick to the farms when the obvious need is to get more people away from them. No, our authors contend, the farm problem is not a problem of price tinkering but rather one of reordering the whole process of agriculture. The machine is driving out the man. Like the handloom weaver the old-line farmer may resist, but in the end a new adjustment will work itself out and the inefficient average farmer of today will have to trek to town and become an industrial worker.

Professor Mead and Doctor Ostrolenk certainly present a clear and interesting picture of the farm problem in the United States today. They may possibly overemphasize the mere business aspect of farming at the expense of a broader treatment of agriculture as a way of life, but whatever one may think about this question the fact remains that it is from the business side that the farmers themselves are pushing their case for relief.

E. E. AGGER.

ROMMEL, GEORGE M. *Farm Products in Industry.* Pp. xii, 318. New York: Rae D. Henkle Co., Inc., 1928.

This is a splendid survey of the use of farm products in industry present and prospective. Special attention is paid to livestock, cotton, forest products, rubber, oils and motor fuels, small grains, and the by-products of corn. The essential contribution of the book is about corn as a source of cellullose, and what cornstalks are worth to the manufacturer and the farmer. The book itself is the first book to be written on cornstalk paper.

DAVIS, MALCOLM W., and MALLORY, WALTER H. *Political Handbook of the World.* Pp. 198. Price, $2.50. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1929.

This book presents a revision of "A Political Handbook of the World," published last year by the Council on Foreign Relations. The chief addition which has been made in this 1929 edition is a section of some ten pages devoted to the parties and press of the United States. The section brings party alignments and policies up-to-date, showing the alignment in the 71st Congress and including policies as recent as the Kellogg treaty.

Besides the section devoted to the United States, the remainder of the book is devoted to the parliaments, parties, and press of sixty-three countries.

INDEX

Agricultural Income, source of, 189.
Agriculture, American, prosperity of, 189.
American Association of Universities, 146.
American Civil War, 242.
American Conservation of Superior Motherhood, 358, 359; development of ideals, 359, 360.
American Federation of Labor, 120, 123; decrease in membership, 120; early history, 121.
American Federation of Labor, 130; workers' education bureau, 130.
American Federation of Labor Attempts to Organize Women, 124, 125.
American Home, demoralizing influence of, 302, 303; discontented housewife, 303.
American Home Economic Association, 57; questionnaire, 57.
American Standards of Living, 190.
American Women and the Printing Press, Mary R. Beard, 195–206.
American Women Writers, 195.
Andrews, Benjamin R., The Home Woman as Buyer and Controller of Consumption, 41–8.
At the Crossroads in the Legal Protection of Women in Industry, Elizabeth F. Baker, 265–79.
Atkeson, Mary Meek, Woman in Farm Life and Rural Economy, 188–94.
Average Earnings of Male Wage Earners in Manufacturing Industries, 1927, 82.
Avocational Guidance, 372.

Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner, At the Crossroads in the Legal Protection of Women in Industry, 265–79.
Beard, Mary R., American Women and the Printing Press, 195–206.
Benson, Marguerite B., Labor Turnover of Working Women, 109–19.
Berry, Gwendolyn Hughes, Mothers in Industry, 315–24.
Blair, Emily Newell, Women in the Political Parties, 217–29.
Boeckel, Florence Brewer, Women in International Affairs, 230–48.
Bureau of Business Research, 137.
Bureau of Household Occupations, of Boston, 57.
Business, women executives in, 173, 174; experts, 174, 175; big business, 175; unusual professions, 175, 176, 178, 179.
Business Bureau, Better, 43, 44.
Buying, economic plan of, 42; enlightened need for, 42, 43.
Buying, Household, ethical duties of, 47, 48; basic instruction in, 47, 48.
Buying, family, 47; retail, 41, 42.

Census 1920, occupational, 166, 167.
Census Data on Women, 74, 79.
Child Clinics, behavior, 372.
Child Labor Law 1927, 287, 288.
Children, mental hygiene of, 304, 305.
Clerical Functions in the Modern Business World, 181, 182; demand for, 182; development of office machinery, 182.
Clerical Occupations, future legislation, 187.
Clerical Occupations, Women in the, Grace L. Coyle, 180–87.
Clerical Work, mechanical aspects of, 184; centralizing workers, 184; chances for advancement, 184, 185.
Colleges, enrollment of women in, 2; gifts to, 4.
Communist Party, 130.
Community Kitchens, 53.
Congress, women elected to, 229.
Consular Service (U. S.), women serving in, 239.
Consumer coöperation, for Intelligent Spending, 45.
Consumer's Club Recommendations, 45.
Consumers' Goods, standardized specification of, 43, 44.
Consumer's League, 46.
Consumption, The Home Woman as Buyer and Controller of, Benjamin R. Andrews, 41–8.
Contribution of Sons and Daughters, Manchester, N. H. (table), 85.
Coöperative Housekeeping, 343.
Coöperative Nursery Schools, 344.
Cost of Living, 81, 101, 157; (table), 81.
Coyle, Grace L., Woman in the Clerical Occupations, 180–7.

Democratic Executive Committee, 224.
Democratic State Committees, women members, 219.
Domestic Service, 55–60, 181, 352; studies of, 55; solutions of, 55; labor problems, 55, 56; time records, 57; supervision of, 60.

Earnings of Business and Professional Women by Occupational Groups, 138, 139; by types of work, 140.
Earnings of Business and Professional Women, Some Factors Affecting, Margaret Elliott, 137–45.
Economic and Legal Status of Women, American Association of University Women, 1926–7, survey, 325, 326.
Economic Freedom for Women, 134.
Economic Functions of the Home, changes in, 324; mother suffers, 324; protective legislation, 324.

Economic Opportunity, 136.
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WOMEN, THE, Emilie J. Hutchinson, 132–36.
Economic Problems, 132.
Economics, home, bureau of, study on housewives, 34, 35.
Economics, Home, 46, 47; demand for teachers, 362; qualifications, 362.
Economics, Home, training, 28; resources of schools, 28; classes for adults, 28; classes for children, 28.
Economics, Home, in State Universities, 364, 365, 366, 367; in Women's Colleges, 365, 366.
Economics, Home, time spent in home activities, 22.
Economics, Journal of Home, census data, 22, 23.
Economy, domestic, 361, 362, 365.
EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES, HOME-MAKING, Louise Stanley, 361–7.
Education of Women (chart), 370.
Education of Women, 369 results of, 369.
EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OF AMERICAN WOMEN, THE,—THEORETICAL AND ACTUAL, Willystine Goodsell, 1–13.
EFFECTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION ON WOMEN'S WORK, Mary N. Winslow, 280–5.
EFFICIENCY OF WOMEN WORKERS, Lillian M. Gilbreth, 61–4.
Eighteenth Amendment, 212, 213.
ELLIOTT, MARGARET, Some Factors Affecting Earnings of Business and Professional Women, 137–45.
EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD AND THE CHOICE OF SATISFACTIONS, Elsa Denison Voorhees, 368–73.
Employer-Employee Relationships, conference on, 27.
EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE HOME, Amey E. Watson, 49–60.
Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home, background of sound thinking, 50; social relationships, 50; parent-child relationships, 50.
Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home, application of, 58, 59.
Employment, conditions of, 83, 84.
Employment, household, 57, 58; advantages, 57; disadvantages, 57, 58; survey of, 58.
Employment, Married Women, 316–19; reasons, 316, 317; widowhood, 317; desertion, 317; illness, 317; emergencies, 318; insufficient income, 318; prefer outside work, 318, 319.
Employment, Sex Distribution 1880–1920 (table), 76; age distribution 1920 (table), 76.
Employment After Marriage, 343, 344; desire for, 343, 344; effects of employment before marriage on, 343, 344.
Employment Agencies, 290, 308, 310.
Employment Indices (Ohio), 97; (chart), 97.
Employment Legislation (women), effects on working opportunities in mercantile establishments, 281, 282.
Employment Legislation Applying to Women, 280; restriction of working hours in manufacturing establishments, 281; night work laws, 281.
Employment of Married Women, economic necessity, 334, 345.
Employment of Women, prohibiting of in England, 286.
Employment of Women (Ohio), trend in 96; number, 96, 97; (table), 96.
Employment Opportunities for Women, effects of labor legislation, 269.
Employment, part-time, 307, 308; reasons for, 310; survey of in N. Y. C., 311, 312, 313, 314.
Employment Service (state) Ohio, 94.
Expenditures, balance of, 47.

Family, economic functions of, 334, 335.
Family, personnel resources, 28; their administration, 28.
Family Life, see home and family life, 306.
Family Needs, 29–31; supplying of, 29, 30; leisure time activities, 30, 31.
Family Status and Family Responsibility of Breadwinning Women, by Marital Status, Four Cities, 1920 (table), 87.
Family Support, What the Wage Earning Woman Contributes to, 74–93.
Farm, American, Women on, 188; duties of, 188, 189.
Farm Business, management of, work outlook for women, 190.
Farm Income, expenditures of, 191.
FARM LIFE AND RURAL ECONOMY, WOMEN IN, Mary Meek Atkeson, 188–194.
Farm Management, early, 189.
Farm Population, shifts in, 193, 194.
Farms, American, work of women, 189, 190.
Federal Children's Bureau, studies of, 266.
Foreign Policies, 241.
Franco-Prussian War, 242.
Funds, reserve, 47.

GILBRETH, LILLIAN M., Efficiency of Women Workers, 61–4.
GOODSELL, WILLYSTINE, The Educational Opportunities of American Women—Theoretical and Actual, 1–13.
GROVES, ERNEST R., The Personality results of the Wage Employment of Women Outside the Home and Their Social Consequences, 339–348.

HAGER, ALICE ROGERS, Occupations and Earnings of Women in Industry, 65–73.
HAWTHORNE, MARION O., Women as College Teachers, 146–53.

Historical and Contemporary Settings—Evolutional, 351, 352.
Home, Modern, economic activities, 23, 24; why they persist, 23, 24; objectives, 24.
Home Activities, time spent in, 22.
Home and Family Life, 305, 306; future of, 306.
HOME, EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE, Amey E. Watson, 49–60.
HOME, THE WOMAN ADMINISTRATOR IN THE MODERN, Anna E. Richardson, 21–32.
Home Functions, 50, 51, 52; analization of, 50; social, 50, 51; economic, 52.
Homemaker, part-time, 31, 32.
Home Making, early ideas of training for, 361, 362.
HOME-MAKING EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES, Louise Stanley, 361–67.
Home-Making, effects of vocational experience on, 342, 343.
Home-making, 28, 32; training for, 28; responsibilities, 32.
Home-making, training for, 362, 363; curricula, 363; analysis of aims, 363; future training for, 367.
Home Ownership, 47.
Home Relationships, science of social, 59, 60.
Home Responsibilities, 339; education in, 364.
HOME WOMAN AS BUYER AND CONTROLLER OF CONSUMPTION, THE, Benjamin R. Andrews, 41–8.
Home Workers, 53, 54; paid, 54.
Home, American, 51, 52.
Household Aid Company, 55.
Household Employment Commission, 56; report of, 56.
Household Equipment, 27.
Household Responsibilities, 344.
Housekeeping, administering, 26, 27.
Housekeeping, advantages in non-commercial character, 33, 34.
Housekeeping, scientific, 56, 57; experiment of, 56, 57.
Housewife, 34–7; economic independence, 34; wages, 35; management and planning, 36; estimated value of services, 36, 37; (table), 37.
Housewife, economic status of, improvement, 38, 39, 40; economic independence for, 38, 39.
HOWES, ETHEL PUFFER, The Meaning of Progress in the Women Movement, 14–20.
HUTCHINSON, EMILIE J., The Economic Problems of Women, 132–36.

Income, Agricultural, source of, 189.
Income, Family, 47; administration of, 25, 26.
Income, Farm, expenditure of, 191; disadvantages, 191, 192, 193.
Income, Husband, 39, 40.
Income for Teachers, 155, 157.
Incomes, 52, 53, 354; distinction between, 52, 53; household effectiveness, 52, 53.
Industrial Analysis, 61–3; job, 61, 62; personality, 61, 62; skills, 62.
Industrial Education, summer schools, 130, 131, 366; financing of, 130, 131.
Industrial Fatigue, evils of, 299.
Industrial Legislation, 280, 281.
Industrial Revolution, 52.
Industrial Workers, summer school, 366.
Industry, analysis of skills, 62.
Industry, health of workers, 266, 267.
Industry, large scale production, growth of, 51.
Industry, Married Women In, increase in, 124.
INDUSTRY, MOTHERS IN, Gwendolyn Hughes Berry, 315–24.
Industry, study of satisfactions, 61, 62; job analysis, 61, 62; personality analysis, 61, 62.
Industry, textile, women in the, 127; low wages, 127; strikes, 127.
Institute of Intellectual Coöperation, 236.
Insurance, Life, 47.
Inter-American Commission, 237, 238; undertakings of, 238.
Inter-American Union of Women, 245.
International Affairs, influence of women, 238, 239.
International Affairs, 230, 231, 243; relation of women to, 243; lack of political power, 243.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, WOMEN IN, Florence Brewer Boeckel, 230–48.
International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, 245.
International Arbitration Treaties, 211.
International Council of Women, 232, 233; formation of, 242.
International Labor Conference 1919, 237, 286.
International Labor Office, 236.
International Law, codification of, 238.
International Problems, 246.
International Treaty, 237.
Inter-Parliamentary Union, 241; conferences, 241; women delegates to, 241.

Job Analysis, 53, 61, 62, 63, 112; in relation to efficiency, 61.
Job Analysis and Equality of Opportunity for Women, 62, 63.
Job Classification, 61; personality analysis, 61, 62.

KELLEY, FLORENCE, Labor Legislation for Women and its Effect on Earnings and Conditions of Labor, 286–300.
Kellogg Pact, 245.
KNEELAND, HILDEGARDE, Woman's Economic Contribution in the Home, 33–40.

LABOR, LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND ITS EFFECTS ON EARNINGS AND CONDITIONS OF, Florence Kelley and Marguerite Marsh, 286–300.

Labor, condition of, 291, 294; public criticism of courts, 291; fatigue, 294; lack of statistics, 295.
Labor, division of between sexes, 339, 340.
Labor, subdivision of, 133.
Labor Law, latest, 289.
Labor Law, Ohio, 94.
Labor Law, women, 278.
Labor Laws, effect on working opportunity, 280, 281.
Labor Laws, opposition to 267, 268; women printers, 267; women on street railways, 267, 268; misc. groups, 268.
Labor Legislation for Women, activity of judiciary, 288, 289.
Labor Legislation for Women, 286; protective, 288.
LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND ITS EFFECTS ON EARNINGS AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR, Florence Kelley and Marguerite Marsh, 286–300.
Labor Legislation, Introduction in England, 286.
Labor Legislation (women), earnings, 295; lack of statistics, 295; minimum wage laws, 295, 296, 297; hours, 297.
Labor Legislation (women), minimum wage decision, 290, 291, 295, 296; minimum wage board, 297, 298.
LABOR LEGISLATION ON WOMEN'S WORK, THE EFFECTS OF, Mary N. Winslow, 280–85.
Labor Legislation (women), night work, effects of, 271, 272, 283; stores, 271; restaurants, 272; elevators, 272, 273; street cars and newspaper offices, 273; pharmacies, 273.
Labor Legislation (women), opposition to, 299.
Labor Legislation (women), 292, 293; educational effects of, 292, 293; effects on earnings, 292; effects on unemployment, 293; effect on conditions of labor, 293, 294.
Labor Legislation (women), prohibitory, 273, 274, 284, 285; special, 274–77.
Labor Office, International, 236.
Labor Organization, 236.
Labor Statistics, 103.
Labor Turnover, 109–12; causes, 109, 110, 111; advantages, 109; studies of, 109; literature on, 109, 110, 111; among new employes, 111.
Labor Turnover and its Causes, 110, 111.
LABOR TURNOVER OF WORKING WOMEN, Marguerite B. Benson, 109–19.
Labor Turnover Rates, comparing men and women, 113, 114.
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 130.
Latin America, rights of women to vote, 239; interest in government affairs, 239.
Laws, Retirement, teachers, 160, 162; (map), 161.
Laws Affecting Women, 237.
League of Nations, 239, 240, 242, 242, 243, 244, 245.
League of Nations, 232–37; women's part in development and in activities, 232, 233, 234, 235.
League of Nations, council of, 233–237; assembly of, 233; committees, 234; health work, 234.
League of Nations, World Conference on Economic Problems, 235.
League of Women Voters, 209, 212, 245, 246, 300.
League of Women Voters (Cleveland), 244.
LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN TO WORK, Mary Phelgar Smith, 255–64.
LEGAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY, AT THE CROSSROADS IN THE, Elizabeth F. Baker, 265–79.
Legislation for Working Mothers Needed, 324.
LEUCK, MIRIAM SIMONS, Women in Odd and Unusual Fields of Work, 166–79.
Living, cost of, 101.

MAHER, AMY G., Ohio's Women Workers, 94–103.
Management, scientific, 110.
Management and Administration in the Home, 21.
MANSON, GRACE E. Some Factors Affecting Earnings of Business and Professional Women, 137–45.
Manufacture, Home, decrease in, 316.
Marriage, 341, 342, 343; effects of industry on, 341, 342; desire for employment after, 343.
Marriages, childless, 351, 352.
MARRIED COLLEGE WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS, Chase Going Woodhouse, 325–38.
MARRIED WOMAN AND THE PART-TIME JOB, THE, Lorine Pruette, 301–14.
MARSH, MARGUERITE, Labor Legislation for Women and its Effect on Earnings and Conditions of Labor, 286–300.
MEANING OF PROGRESS IN THE WOMAN MOVEMENT, THE, Ethel Puffer Howes, 14–20.
Men, earnings of, 82, 83.
Merchandise Marks Act (English), 46.
Merchandising, retail, 46.
Mother, economic responsibility, 315.
Motherhood, 342; effects of vocational experience on, 342.
Mother, American, conservation of superior, 358, 359; development of ideals, 359, 360.
MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY, Gwendolyn Hughes Berry, 315–24.

National Association of Manufacturers, objections to labor legislation for women, 300.
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 244; organization of women, 244.
National Education Association, 261, 262; rules affecting married women to work, 261, 262.
National Industrial Conference Board, 81; cost of living, 81; average earnings, 82, 83.
National Women's Trade Union League, 128.

Negro Writers, 203.
New York Labor Law, 287.

Occupational Distribution of Women, 76, 77.
Occupational Distribution of Workers (tables), 68.
Occupations, census of, 33.
OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY, Alice Rogers Hager, 65–73.
Occupations for Women (Ohio), 94, 95, 96; (chart), 95, 96.
Occupations of Women 167–179; out-of-door, 167, 168; unusual work, 169, 170, 171; government posts, 171, 172; stock raisers, 172; executives 173, 174; experts, 175, 176; big business, 175; unusual professions, 175, 176, 177, 178; strange arts, 176, 177.
Ohio Council on Women in Industry, 101; cost of living study, 101.
Ohio Labor Laws, 94; outstanding facts, 102, 103.
OHIO'S WOMEN WORKERS, Amy G. Maher, 94–103.

Pact of Paris, 211.
Pan American Conference, Sixth, 1928, 237, 245.
Pan American Union, 237.
Pan Pacific Union, 245.
Parent-Teacher Associations, 45.
PART-TIME JOB, THE MARRIED WOMAN AND THE, Lorine Pruette, 301–14.
PERSONALITY RESULTS OF THE WAGE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES, THE, Ernest R. Groves, 339–48.
PETERSON, AGNES L., What the Wage-Earning Woman Contributes to Family Support, 74–93.
PIGEON, HELEN D., Woman's Era in the Police Department, 249–54.
Police Department, Women's Bureau, beginning of, 250–52; growth of, 250; functions, 250, 251; personnel, 251, 252.
POLICE DEPARTMENT, WOMAN'S ERA IN, Helen D. Pigeon, 249–54.
Policewoman and the Public, 254.
Policewomen, 250–53; duties of, 251, 252; necessity for, 252, 253; patrol of public places, 253.
Policewomen's Service, 250–54; personnel of, 251, 252; cases handled, 252; necessity for, 252, 253; patrol of public places, 253, 254.
Political Appointments, 227, 228.
Political Organizations, 217, 218.
Political Parties, Committee Representation, 218; fifty-fifty plan, 219; advantage of plan, 219; effects of plan on masculine attitude toward women in politics, 220, 222.
Political Parties, Committees, reaction of women to service, 220.
Political Parties, Membership in, 217; party leaders, 217.
POLITICAL PARTIES, WOMEN IN THE, Emily N. Blair, 217–29.
Political Party Affairs, 224, 225; extent of actual participation by women, 224; responsibility, 225.
Political Party Committees, how women became eligible, 217, 218; plan of representation, 218; objections to plan, 218.
Political Party Organization, the part women play, 223, 224, 225, 226; membership on committees, 223, 224; party rewards, 225, 226.
Political Party Policies, do women affect? 225.
Political Party Rewards, 225, 226, 227.
Politics, studying the science of, 208, 209.
POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE, Charl Williams, 154–65.
PRINTING PRESS, AMERICAN WOMEN AND THE, Mary R. Beard, 195–206.
Production, present day, 52.
Production, Standardization of, 43.
Productive Activity, 52.
PRUETTE, LORINE, The Married Woman and the Part-Time Job, 301–14.
Public Opinion, women educators in, 230.
Purchases see Buying.

Republican Executive Committee, 224.
Reserve Funds, 47.
RICHARDSON, ANNA E., The Woman Administrator in the Modern Home, 21–32.
RURAL ECONOMY, WOMEN IN THE FARM LIFE AND, Mary M. Atkeson, 188–94.

Salaries, teachers in the U. S., 155, 157; comparison with other incomes, 155; (chart), 156.
Schools, Nursery, coöperative, 344.
Science, as a field for women, 177.
SMITH, MARY PHELGAR, Legal and Administrative Restrictions Affecting the Rights of Married Women to Work, 255–64.
SNEDDEN, DAVID, Some Probable Social Consequences of Well-Endowed Married Women, 349–60.
Social Changes, family, 51.
Social Problems, 132.
Social Progress, 132.
Social Valuations, changing, 349, 350.
SOME EFFECTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, Marguerite M. Wells, 207–16.
SOME FACTORS AFFECTING EARNINGS OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN, Margaret Elliott and Grace E. Manson, 137–45.
SOME PROBABLE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE OUT-WORKING OF WELL-ENDOWED MARRIED WOMEN, David Snedden, 349–60.
Specifications of Goods for Sale, need for, 43.
STANLEY, LOUISE, Home-Making Education in the College, 361–67.
State Department, proposed development of, 247.

Stock Farms, operated by women, 172, 173.
Suffrage Amendment, 217.
Supreme Court and the Minimum Wage Legislation, 291.
SWARTZ, NELLE, The Trend in Women's Wages, 104–8.

Teaching Profession, economic disadvantage, 155, 156.
TEACHERS, COLLEGE, WOMEN AS, Marion O. Hawthorne, 146–53.
Teachers' Requirement Laws, 160, 162; (map), 161.
Teachers' Salary Schedules, 157, 158; differentiation between men and women, 158, 159; (chart), 158.
Textile Mills, 127; low wages, 127; strikes, 127.
Trade-Marks, 44.
Trade Union (needle), 125, 126, 127; development of, 126.
Trade Union, trend in membership of women, 120.
TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN, Theresa Wolfson, 120–31.
Trade Union Movement, 120.
Trade Union Movement and Industrial Development, 123.
Trade Union Movement and Women's Wages, 105.
Trade Union Organization, 130; importance of, 131; younger members, 129, 130.
Trade Unionism, 123.
Trade Unions, 102, 266; auxiliary activities of women, 128, 129.
Trade Unions, local, women in, 125.
Trade Unions, needle trade, women in, 125, 126, 127.
Treaty of Versailles, 236.
TREND IN WOMEN'S WAGES, Nelle Swartz, 104–8.
Turnover Rates, comparative tabulations, 113, 114; rate for women, 113, 118, 119; rate for men, 115; rate for non-manufacturing, 115.

Union of Soviet Republics, 238, 239; women on governing body, 238, 239.
Unions, craft, technique of organization neglected, 128.
U. S. BUREAU OF HOME ECONOMICS, 49, 60; work of conference, 49, 60.
U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, data on slack work, 81, 82.
U. S. Department of Agriculture, 189, 190; census report, 1920, 190.
U. S. Department of Labor, figures on turnover, 110.
U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 123; study of unions, 123.
U. S. Supreme Court, decisions of, 287, 288.
U. S. Trade Commission, 43.
U. S. Women's Bureau, 97; employment study (Ohio), 97, 98.
U. S. Women's Bureau, statistics on turnover, 117, 118.
U. S. Women's Bureau, survey 1925, 167.
Universities, gifts to, 4.

VOORHEES, ELSA DENISON, Emotional Adjustment of Women in the Modern World and the Choice of Satisfactions, 368–73.

Wage Earners, Men and Women, by size of family, three cities, 1920 (table), 88; mothers having children of specified age groups at home, in school, or at work, four cities, 1920 (tables), 89, 90.
WAGE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES, THE PERSONALITY RESULTS OF THE, Ernest R. Groves, 339–48.
Wage Laws, minimum, 295, 296, 297.
Wage Laws, minimum, England, 266.
Wage Legislation, minimum, 290, 291, 292.
Wage Standards, 104.
Wage Statistics, manufacturing industries, 84.
Wages, average, male, 82, 83.
Wages, men and women, 83, 84.
Washington Conference for Limitation of Armaments, 244; women's activity in, 244.
WATSON, AMY E., Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home, 49–60.
Wealth, 53; producer of, 53; directing consumption of, 53.
Wealth, consumption of, 25, 26; (table), 25.
WELLS, MARGUERITE M., Some effects of Woman Suffrage, 207–16.
WHAT THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT, Agnes L. Peterson, 74–93.
WILLIAMS, CHARL, The Position of Women in the Public Schools, 154–65.
Woman Administrator in the Home, 21; planning, 21; management, 21.
WOMAN ADMINISTRATOR IN THE MODERN HOME, THE, Anna E. Richardson, 21–32.
Woman as Home Makers, 21–5; time spent in activities of, 21, 22; census data, 22, 23; objectives, 24; resources, 25; administrating housekeeping job, 26.
WOMAN CONTRIBUTES TO FAMILY SUPPORT, WHAT THE WAGE EARNING, Agnes L. Peterson, 74–93.
WOMAN MOVEMENT, 14, 15; freedom from legal and political disabilities, 14; economic disabilities, 15.
Woman Suffrage, 223.
WOMAN SUFFRAGE, SOME EFFECTS OF, Marguerite M. Wells, 207–16.
Woman, rights of, 14.
Woman Vote, 213, 214; 1928 election, 213.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 242, 243.
WOMAN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE HOME, Hildegarde Kneeland, 33–40.
WOMAN'S ERA IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT, Helen D. Pigeon, 249–54.
Woman's Labor Situation, 17.
Woman's Rights Convention of 1848, 14, 15.
Women, American, education of, 197, 198.
Women Administrators, in teaching professions, 154; discrimination of, 154, 155.
Women and Child Wage Earnings in the U. S., the condition of, 265.
Women and the Demand for Clerical Workers, 182, 183.
Women and Education, 215; contribution to political life, 215.
Women and the 1928 Election, 213, 214.
Women and Girls in Secondary Education, 1.
Women and the League of Nations, 232, 233, 234.
Woman and Political Education, 208, 209.
Women and Political Reform, 210, 211.
Women and the Prevention of War, 211.
Women and Prohibition, 212, 213.
Women and the Public Interest, 209, 210.
Women and Social Welfare, 210.
WOMEN AS COLLEGE TEACHERS, Marion O. Hawthorne, 146–53.
Women as Unionists, 128, 131.
Women, Business and Professional, earnings of, 137.
Women, census data on, 74.
Women, changing conditions affecting, 349, 350, 351, 352.
Women, changes in economic contributions, 315, 316.
Women, chief occupation, 34; wages, 35; management and planning housework, 36; estimated value of services, 36, 37; (table), 37.
Women Clerical Workers, 184; centralization of, 184; advancement of, 184, 185; health hazards, 185, 186; economic changes, 186, 187; wages, 186, 187.
Women Clerical Workers, 180–83; increase in, 180; social significance of, 181; desirable forms of, 181; economic advantages of, 181.
Women College Teachers, 146–49; academic and professional training in comparison with rank, 146, 147; (table), 147.
Women College Teachers, degrees, 146, 147; rank, 146, 153.
Women College Teachers, status of, 151, 152, 153; degrees, 152; experience, 152; salaries, 152, 153.
Women Contributing to Dependents, 92, 93; economic conditions, 93.
Women Contributing to Dependents as Reported by Various Agencies (table), 92.
Women, contribution to the home, 47.
Women, disadvantages of a priceless position in a money economy, 33.
Women, earnings of, 83, 84.
Women (Ohio), earnings of, 100, 101.
Women, economic freedom for, 134.
Women, economic functions of, 41.
Women, economic position of, 135, 136.
Women, economic responsibility, 84, 85, 89; change in 84, 85.
Women, education of, 368, 369; (chart), 370; results of, 369.
Women, educational opportunities for, 363, 364.
Women, effects of industry upon personality, 340, 341.
Women Employed Having Dependents (table), 91.
Women, employed, college, married, 325–30; reasons for, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330; (table), 326, 327.
Women Employed, family responsibility, 91, 92.
Women Employed, Married, College, reasons for predominance of economic motive, 330.
Women, Employed, College, earnings, 331–38; occupations of, 335, 336; (table), 331, 332, 333, 335, 336; relation between earnings of husbands, 332, 333, 334.
Women Employed, Married, 304, 316–22; increase in, 316; reasons, 316, 317; method of management, 319, 320; part-time employment, 319, 320; complaints of hardship, 321; effects on family life, 321.
Women Employed, Married, 353; problems centering in, 353; effects on family life, 353, 354; white collar levels, 354, 355; arising problems, 355, 356, 357; eugenic factors, 357, 358.
Women, employment of, clerical, 127.
Women, enfranchisement of, 291, 292.
Women Executives in Business, 173, 174; experts, 174, 175; big business, 175; unusual professions, 175, 176, 178, 179.
Women Experienced in Politics, 214.
Women, foreign born, data regarding earnings, 83, 84.
Women, freedom of, 349.
Women, government appointments, 239; in legislative bodies, 239.
Women in Administrative School Positions, statistics on, 9, 10.
WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS, MARRIED COLLEGE, Chase G. Woodhouse, 325–38.
WOMEN IN THE CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS, Grace L. Coyle, 180–87.
Women in Colleges and Schools, Administrative Status, 10, 11.
Women in Employment, restriction and opposition to, 133, 134, 135; subdivision of labor, 133; wage rates, 133, 134.
WOMEN IN FARM LIFE AND RURAL ECONOMY, Mary M. Atkeson, 188–94.

Women in Industry, 17, 79, 81, 286, 287, 339; cause of, 79, 81.
Women in Industry, 65, 66, 67, 68; increase in, 67; (table), 67; occupational distribution, 67, 68.
Women in Industry, 104, 105; reasons for low wages, 104, 105.
Women in Industry, 63, 64; sex differences, 63; requirements for efficiency, 63, 64.
Women in Industry, special laws, 265; hour laws, 270, 271.
Women in Industry, 278; working conditions, 278; wages, 278; hours, 278; program for advancement of, 279.
WOMEN IN INDUSTRY, AT THE CROSSROADS IN THE LEGAL PROTECTION OF, Elizabeth F. Baker, 265–79.
Women in Industry, earnings compared with men, 70, 72; (table), 71, 72.
Women in Industry, married, 107; increase in, 107; effects on wage problem, 107; part-time employment, 108.
WOMEN IN INDUSTRY, OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS OF, Alice R. Hager, 65–73.
WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Florence B. Boeckel, 230–48.
Women in International Affairs in Europe, 230, 231.
Women in Local Trade Unions, 125.
WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD AND THE CHOICE OF SATISFACTIONS, EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF, Elsa Denison Voorhees, 368–73.
Women in the Needle Trade Unions, 125, 126, 127.
Women in Occupations Other Than Industrial, effects of regulation of hours and night work, 282; waitresses, 282; street car operators, 283; elevator operators, 283; printers and publishers, 283; pharmacists, 283.
WOMEN IN ODD AND UNUSUAL FIELDS OF WORK, Miriam Simons Leuck, 166–79.
WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES, Emily N. Blair, 217–29.
Women in Political Parties, 241; American, 241; foreign, 241.
Women in the Political World, 208; advancement, 208.
Women in Politics, committees, fifty-fifty plan, 221; type on committees, 222.
Women in the Professions, opportunities for training, 5, 6; educational advance of, 6, 7; nursing, 7, 8; educational administration, 8, 9.
Women in Public Office, 167, 168.
WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE POSITION OF, Charl Williams, 154–65.
Women in Science, 177.
Women in State Government Positions, 242.
Women, International Affairs of, 230.
Women, international council of, 232, 233.
Women in the Textile Industry, 127; wages, 127; strikes, 127.
Women, labor legislation for, 286; meaning of, 286.
Women, labor legislation for, minimum wage decision, effects of, 290, 291.
Women, labor legislation, night work law, 287; waitress law, 287.
WOMEN, LABOR TURNOVER OF WORKING, Marguerite B. Benson, 109–19.
Women, literary history of, 197, 198.
Women, Marital Condition of Gainfully-Occupied 1890–1920 (table), 77, 80.
Women, Married, administrative rulings affecting, 261–63; by-laws imposed by school boards, 261; rulings of private businesses, 262, 263.
Women, Married, in clerical occupations, 183.
Women, Married, college, occupations of husbands, 330.
Women, Married, economic risk of the, 306; opportunity of part-time employment, 306, 307.
Women, Married, employed, conflicting interests, 345, 346, 347; children, 345, 346; vocational interests of husband and wife, 346, 347.
Women, Married, employed, 343–48; economic necessity, 344, 345; ambitious for future, 345; conflicting interests, 345; regulation of school systems, 347; attitude of husband, 348.
Women, Married, employed, 134, 135; effect on children, 135.
Women, Married, employed, 316–23; effects in birth rate, 321, 322; quality of maternity, 322; health and care of children, 322; hardship on older children, 323.
Women, Married, employed, 301; reasons, 301, 302; part-time occupations, 302.
Women, Married, gainfully employed, statistics on, 352, 353; reasons for working, 352.
Women, Married, per cent employed, 77, 79; (table), 78.
Women, Married, employment for, 308, 309; part-time, 308; employment agencies, 308, 309.
Women, Married, increasing employment of, 75, 76, 263, 264; (table), 264.
Women, married, legal restrictions, 258–61; as to partnership, 258, 259; contracts for services, 259, 260; carrying on business, 260; receiving earnings, 261.
Women, Married (London), working law, 255; statutory changes in, 255.
Women Members of Legislatures, America, 239, 240, 241; foreign, 240.
Women and Men Gainfully Occupied 1880–1920 (table), 75.
Women Mill Worker, North Carolina, 287.
Women, minimum wage decision, 289, 292, 295, 296, 298; wage boards, 297, 298.
WOMEN MOVEMENT, THE MEANING OF PROGRESS IN THE, Ethel Puffer Howes, 14–20.

Women Movement, progress in, 18.
Women, occupations of, 167, 168, 169; out-of-door, 168, 169; unusual work, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176; government posts, 171, 172.
Women Office Holders, 207, 208.
Women on College and University Faculties, status of, 11, 12, 13.
Women, opportunities, 16; education, 16, 17.
Women, opportunities to work, 69, 70; to earn, 69, 70, 72.
Women Organized for Peace, 243.
Women Organizations for Promotion of Peace, 212.
Women Organized in the American Trade Union, 120.
WOMEN OUTSIDE THE HOME AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES, THE PERSONALITY RESULTS OF THE WAGE EMPLOYMENT OF, Ernest R. Groves, 339–48.
Women, Organized Interest in World Relations, 231, 232.
Women's Organizations, 231, 232, 233; committees on international relations, 231, 232.
Women, part-time employment for, agencies for, 309, 310.
Women Pioneers in Business, 173–76; executive posts, 173, 174; experts, 174, 175; strange arts, 176, 177.
Women, political activity of, 207, 208.
Women Political Leaders, 221.
Women's Political Organizations, 209.
Women Politicians, 221.
Women, positions held by, 242.
Women, privately controlled colleges for, 4.
Women Producers, 52.
Women, professional training, opportunities of, 5, 6.
Women Publishers, field for, 196, 197.
Women, self-analysis, 371, 372.
WOMEN, SOME PROBABLE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE OUT-WORKING OF WELL-ENDOWED MARRIED, David Snedden, 349–60.
Women Students in Colleges and Universities, 1, 2, 3, 4; limitations on educational opportunities, 2, 3, 4.
Women Teachers, academic fields, 147–51; (table), 148; salary and income, 148, 149; promotions, 150; rank on entering, 150, 151; (table), 152; intervals between promotions, 151.
Women Teachers, College, professional status, 146, 147.
Women Teachers, 154, 155; economic position of, 155.
Women Teachers, married, 164.
Women Teachers, 158–64; standard of living, 159, 160; housing conditions, 160; substitutes for higher salaries, 160, 161; hours of work, 162, 163; tenure, 163, 164; married, 164; sick leave, 164.
Women Teachers' Rank Compared with Men, 149, 150.
Women Teachers' Salaries, 159; differentiation between men, 159.
Women Teachers, salaries, 148, 150; distribution of, 149; (table), 149; comparison with men, 149.
Women, the changing social attitude toward, 340.
WOMEN, THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF, Emilie J. Hutchinson, 132–36.
WOMEN, THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OF AMERICAN—THEORETICAL AND ACTUAL, Willystine Goodsell, 1–13.
WOMEN TO WORK, LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE RIGHTS OF MARRIED, Mary Phlegar Smith, 255–64.
WOMEN, TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES OF, Theresa Wolfson, 120–31.
Women, unmarried, effects of vocational experience on marriage, motherhood and home-making, 341, 342, 343, 344.
Women, Wage-earning, 132, 133.
Women Wage Earners, occupational history, 65, 66, 67.
Women Wage Earners Having Children, 89.
Women Wage Earners in 1920 (chart), 121.
Women Worker and the Trade Union, activities, 128, 129, 130.
Women Workers, after the war, 123.
WOMEN WORKERS, EFFICIENCY OF, Lillian M. Gilbreth, 61–64.
Women Workers, length of service, 115, 116, 117; (table), 116.
Women Workers, 351; married, 351, 352; immigrant classes, 352; wage rates in factories, 352.
Women Workers, married, turnover rate, 117, 118.
Women Workers (Ohio), accidents, 101, 102; housing conditions, 102.
Women Workers (Ohio), nationality and age, 94; married, 94; occupations, 94, 95; hours of work, 97, 98; wage rates, 98, 99, 100; (chart), 99, 100.
WOMEN WORKERS, OHIO'S, Amy G. Maher, 94–103.
Women Workers, personal efficiency, 64; integration of activities, 64.
Women Workers, special legislation, 265, 266; opposition to, 265, 266.
Women Workers, unorganized, 123, 124; reasons, 124.
Women, working hours of, 286.
Women, working opportunities of, 273; prohibitory legislation, 273.
Women Writers, in America, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202; professional, 199; field of letters, 202; poems, 202; negroes, 203.
Women Writers in America, 203–206; criticism of, 203, 204.
Women Acts, married, 255–58.
Women's Bureau, 79, 91, 278.

Women's Bureau Publications, 17.
Women's Bureau Report, 65; (chart), 66.
Women's Bureau, report on effect of special legislation, 268, 269; summary of report, 269, 270.
Women's Bureau, study of occupational groups, 280, 281.
Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, study of unions, 123.
Women's Clubs, general federation of, 245.
Women's Earnings, 139–42; comparison of, 139, 140; relation of to experience, 140, 142; (table), 143.
Women's Earnings, 295; lack of statistics, 295; wage laws, 295, 296, 297; wage studies, 297.
Women's Earnings and Experience, comparison of by types of work (table), 139.
Women's Earnings in Different Types of Work by Educational Levels, 142, 144; (table), 143.
Women's Earnings (Professional), analysis of, 144, 145.
Women's Earnings, relation of population to, 142; (table), 142.
Women's Economic Disabilities, 15; progress in removing, 15, 16.
Women's Employment, effects of legislation prohibiting, 284, 285.
Women's Industrial Frontiers, protect the minorities, at, 277, 278.
Women's Interests, effort to coördinate, 20.
Women's Interests, integration of toward personal adjustment, 368, 371.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 245, 246.
Women's Movement, 136, 231.
Women's Peace Party, 243.
Women's Rest Tour Association, 45.
Women's Share in Family Support, 85–89; (table), 86.
Women's Trade Union League of New York, 130.
WOMEN'S WAGES, THE TREND IN, Nelle Swartz, 104–108.
Women's Wages, 75, 105, 106, 107; in New York State, 105, 106; increase in, 106; advantage of increase, 106; comparative figures, 106, 107.
Women's Wages, unequality of, 73; why, 73.
WOMEN'S WORK, THE EFFECTS OF LABOR LEGISLATION ON, Mary N. Winslow, 280–85.
Women's Working Conditions, 278; hours, 278; wages, 278.
WOLFSON, THERESA, Trade Union Activities of Women, 120–31.
Woodhouse, Chase Going, Married College Women in Business and the Professions, 325–38.
WORK, WOMEN IN ODD AND UNUSUAL FIELDS, Miriam S. Leuck, 166–79.
Workers' Education Bureau, 130; organization of, 130.
Workers' Education Movement, 129.
World Court, 211, 244; activities of women, 244.
World Economic Affairs, 245.
World Relations, interest of women in, 231, 232.
World War, 211.

Young Women Christian Association, industrial department, 131; educational program, 131.

HQ
1420
A55

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

Women in the modern world ... Editor in charge of this volume: Viva B. Boothe ... Philadelphia, 1929.

viii, 396p. illus. (map) diagrs. 24cm. (Its Annals, v. 143)

332531

1. Women in the U.S. 2. Women - Employment - U.S. 3. Women - Social and moral questions. I. Boothe, Viva Belle, 1893- ed. II. Title. III. Series.

CCSC/mm